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THE  
COMPLETE WORKS  
IN  
VERSE AND PROSE  
OF  
SAMUEL DANIEL.  
*VOL. II.*



THE  
COMPLETE WORKS  
IN  
VERSE AND PROSE  
OF  
SAMUEL DANIEL.

*EDITED, WITH MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION AND A GLOSSARIAL  
INDEX EMBRACING NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.*

BY THE  
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*IN FOUR VOLUMES.*

VOL. II.

THE CIVILE WARS BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES OF  
LANCASTER AND YORKE.

1595—1623.

PRINTED FOR THE SPENSER SOCIETY.

1885.

100 copies only.]

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X.

THE CIVILE WARS,  
1595—1623.

II.

I

# NOTE.

The 'Civile Wars' was issued fragmentarily. In 1595 appeared 'The Firſt Fowre Bookes' (4to, 89 leaves). Some copies of this have added a 'Fift Book,' but this was taken from the edition in 'The Poeticall Effayes' of 1599, having been thus added to the remainder of the 1595 quarto prior to the publication of the 1599 quarto. This is shown by its being identical with that of 1599 (Aa—Ee in fours). To this comes next the semi-private folio of the 'Works' in 1601, which added a sixth and seventh book, by re-distribution of former books (as explained in the places). The folio of 1602 is the same with that of 1601. There followed the quarto of 1609. It again is identical with that of 1623 ('Whole Workes'). 1609 must have been kept standing in type, and must have been successively largely printed from, as the printing of 1623 is dim and worn compared with that of 1609, especially in the head-ornaments. Our text (as before) is the quarto of 1623; but herewith various readings and omitted stanzas are given below in their respective places. Many of these are most interesting and suggestive. The following are my signs in the various readings, etc. :—

<sup>1</sup> = 1595 4to.

<sup>2</sup> = 1599 4to.

<sup>3</sup> = 1601 folio : being also 1602 folio (as above).

On opposite leaf the title-pages of 1595 and 1599 will be found—the latter being a special one in addition to the general title-page of 'The Poeticall Essayes.' On the *verso* of both is Mountjoy's shield. For the verse-dedication of the 'Civile Wars' to Mountjoy in 1599 4to, see Vol. I., p. 3. In the British Museum exemplar of the 1599 4to (11622 d. 1), the 1595 title-page is preserved. It is usually cancelled, to disguise that the 1599 volume is really (so far as it goes) a simple re-issue of 1595 'Civile Wars.'

On the Various Readings, suppressions and additions, see our 'Memorial-Introduction II.—Critical,' in our last volume.

A. B. G.

THE  
FIRST FOWRE

Bookes of the ciuile wars  
between the two hou-  
ses of *Lancaster*  
and *Yorke*.

By Samvel Daniel.

*Ætas prima canat veneres  
postrema tumultus.*



AT LONDON,  
Printed by P. Short for Simon  
*Waterfon*. 1595.

The  
Civill Wars  
Of England, Be-  
tweene the two Houses of  
Lancaster and Yorke.

(:·)

*Ætas prima canat veneres postrema tumultus.*

Sam. Daniell.

Veritas Tva Et Vſque Ad Nubes.

At London,  
Printed by P. S. for Symon Waterſon  
1599.



## TO THE RIGHT NOBLE

*Lady, the Lady Marie, Countesse*

*Dowager of Pembroke.*<sup>1</sup>

MADAME:



*His Poëm of our last Ciuile Warres of England, (whereof the many Editions shewe what kinde of intertainement it hath had with the world) I haue now againe sent-forth, with the addition of two bookes: the one, continuing 10 the course of the Historie; the other, making-up a part, which (for haste) was left unfurnisht in the former Impressions. And, hauing nothing else to doo with my life, but to worke whil'st I haue it; I held it my part, to adorne (the best I could) this Prouince, Nature hath allotted to my Charge: and which I desire to leaue, after my death, in the best forme I may; seeing I can erect no other pillars to sustaine my memorie, but my lines, nor otherwise pay my debts and the reckonings of my gratitude to their honour 20 who haue donne me good, and furthered this Worke.*

<sup>1</sup> This Epistle first appeared in 1609 edition.

*And, whereas this Argument was long since undertaken/ (in a time which was not so well secur'd of the future, as God be blessed now it is) with a purpose, to shewe the deformities of Ciuile Dissension, and the miserable euent of Rebellions, Conspiracies, and bloudy Reuengements, which followed (as in a circle) vpon that breach of the due course of Succession, by the Vsurpation of Hen. 4; and thereby to make the blessings of Peace, and the happinesse of an established Gouvernement (in a direct 30 Line) the better to appeare: I trust I shall doo a gratefull worke to my Countrie, to continue the same, vnto the glorious Vnion of Hen. 7: from whence is descended our present Happinesse.*

*In which Worke, I haue carefully followed that truth which is deliuered in the Historie; without adding to, or subtraſting from, the general receiu'd opinion of things as we finde them in our common Annalles: holding it an impietie, to violate that publike Testimonie we haue, without more euident prooffe; or to introduce fictions of 40 our owne imagination, in things of this nature. Famæ rerum ſtandum eſt. Though I knowe, in theſe publike actions, there are euer popular bruites, and opinions, which run according to the time & the biaſs of mens affections: and it is the part of an Historian, to recite them, not to rule theſe; eſpecially, otherwiſe then the circumſtances may induce: according to that modeſt ſaying; Nec affirmare ſuſtineo de quibus dubito, nec ſubducere quæ accepi.*

*I haue onely vſed that poeticall licence, of framing ſpeeches to the perſons of men according to their occaſions; 50 as C. Saluſtius, and T. Liuius (though Writers in Proſe, yet in that kinde Poets) haue, with diuers other antient and modern Writers, done before me. Wherin, though*



*they | haue incroched vpon others rights, and vsurpt a part that was not properly theirs : yet, seeing they hold so iust a proportion, with the nature of men, and the course of affayres ; they passe as the partes of the Actor (not the Writer) and are receiu'd with great approbation.*

*And although many of these Images are drawne with the pencil of mine owne conceiuing : yet I knowe, they are 60 according to the portraiture of Nature ; and carrie a resemblance to the life of Action, and their complexions whom they represent. For, I see, Ambition, Faction, and Affections, speake euer one Language, weare like colours (though in seuerall fashions) feed, and are fed with the same nutriments ; and only vary but in time.*

*Man is a creature of the same dimension he was : and how great and eminent soeuer hee bee, his measure and height is easie to be taken. And all these great actions are openly presented on the Stage of the World : where, 70 there are euer Spectators, who will iudge and censure how men personate those parts, which they are set to perform ; and so enter them in the Records of Memorie.*

*And if I haue erred somewhat in the draught of the young Q. Isabel (wife to Ric. 2) in not suting her passions to her yeares ; I must craue fauour of my credulous Readers ; and hope, the young Ladies of England (who peraduenture will thinke themselves of age sufficient, at 14 yeares, to haue a feeling of their owne estates) will excuse me in that point. For the rest, 80 setting-aside those ornaments, proper to this kinde of Writing ; I haue faithfully obserued the Historie. Wherein, such as loue this Harmony of words, may finde, that a Subiect, of the greatest grauitie, will be aptly exprest : howsoeuer others (seeing in what sort Verse*

*hath beene idly abused) hold it but as a language fitting  
Lightnes and Vanitie.*

*For mine owne part, I am not so far in loue with this  
forme of Writing (nor haue I sworne Fealtie onely to  
Ryme) but that I may serue in any other state of 90  
Inuention, with what weapon of vtterance I will: and,  
so it may make good my minde, I care not. For, I see,  
Iudgement and Discretion (with whatsoever is worthy)  
carry their owne Ornaments, and are gract with their  
owne beauties; be they apparayled in what fashion they  
will. And because I finde the common tongue of the  
world is Prose; I purpose in that kinde to write the  
Historie of England, from the Conquest: being encouraged  
thereunto, by many noble & worthy Spirits. Although  
Madame, I must not neglect to prosecute the other part of 100  
this Worke; being thus reuiued by your Goodnes: to  
whome, and to whose Noble Family, I hold my selfe euer  
bound; and will labour to doo you all the honor, and  
seruice I can.*

SAM. DANYEL.



# THE FIRST BOOKE.<sup>1</sup>

## THE ARGUMENT.

*What times fore-goe Richard the seconds Raigne,  
The fatall causes of this ciuile VVarre,  
His Vncles pride, his greedy Minions gaine,  
Glosters reuolt, and death, deliuered are.  
Herford, accus'd, exil'd, call'd-back againe,  
Pretendes t'amend what others Rule did marre.  
The King from Ireland hastes, but did no good ;  
VVhilſt ſtrange prodigious ſignes fore-token blood.*

## I



Sing the ciuill Warres, tumultuous  
Broyles,  
And bloody factions of a mightie  
Land :  
Whose people hautie, proud with  
forraine ſpoyles,  
Vpon themſelues turn-backe their  
conquering hand ;

“ The Argument of the Firſt Booke ” : Argu<sup>t</sup>, ll. 1, 4. : for , and . <sup>1</sup>.

II.

Whil't Kin their Kin, Brother the Brother foyles ;  
 Like Ensignes all against like Ensignes band ;  
 Bowes against Bowes, the Crowne against the Crowne ;  
 Whil't all pretending right, all right's throwne downe.

## 2

What / furie, ô what madnes held thee so,  
 Deare *England* (too too prodigall of blood)  
 To waste so much, and warre without a foe,  
 Whilst *Fraunce*, to see thy spoyles, at pleasure stood !  
 How much might't thou haue purchast with lesse woe,  
 T'haue done thee honour and thy people good ?  
 Thine might haue beene what-euer lies betweene  
 The *Alps* and vs, the *Pyrenei* and *Rhene*.

## 3

Yet now what reason haue we to complaine ?  
 Since hereby came the calme we did inioy ;  
 The blisse of thee *Eliza* ; happie gaine  
 For all our losse : when-as no other way  
 The Heauens could finde, but to vnite againe  
 The fatall sev'ed Families, that they  
 Might bring foorth thee : that in thy peace might growe  
 That glorie, which few Times could euer showe.

St. 1, l. 8, 'throwen' : 'throwne' (1601, 1602).

St. 2, l. 2, 'people' for 'England', and 'to too' and 'without' ( ) :  
 l. 5, 'might you' : l. 6, 'you . . . your Nephewes' : l. 7, 'Yours' :  
 l. 8, 'The Perenes and Alps, Aquitayne, and Rheine'.

St. 3, l. 1, 'And yet ô God wee haue no cause to plaine', 'And yet  
 what reason haue we to complaine' : l. 2, 'the quiet calme and ioye' :  
 l. 4, 'for that' : l. 5, 'then vnite' : l. 8, 'no age'.

## 4

Come sacred *Virtue* : I no *Muse*, but thee,  
 Inuoke, in this great labour I intend.  
 Doo thou inspire my thoughts, infuse in mee  
 A power to bring the fame to happie end.  
 Rayse vp a worke, for later times to see,  
 That may thy glorie, and my paynes commend.  
 Make me these tumults rightly to rehearse :  
 And giue peace to my life, life to my verse.

## 5

And thou *Charles Montioy* (who didst once afford  
 Rest for my fortunes, on thy quiet shore ;  
 And cheer'dst mee on, these measures to record  
 In grauer tones, then I had vs'd before)  
 Beholde : my gratitude makes good my word  
 Ingag'd to thee (although thou be no more)  
 That I, who heretofore haue liu'd by thee,  
 Doo giue thee now a roome to liue with me.

St. 4, l. 1, 'O sacred Goddesse' 1. 'Thou' 2: l. 2, 'worke I now  
 entend' 1, 2: l. 7, 'Strengthen thy subiect strange things' 1, 2.

St. 5,—'. . . borne the worldes delight  
 That haft receiu'd into . . .  
 Me tempest-driuen fortune tossed wight  
 Tir'd with expecting and could hope no more :  
 And cheereft on my better yeares to write  
 A sadder Subject then I tooke before,  
 Receiue the worke I consecrate to thee,  
 Borne of that rest which thou dost giue to me' 1.

## 6

And MEMORIE, preserv'resse of things done,  
 Come thou, vnfold the woundes, the wracke, the waste :  
 Reueale to me how all the strife begunne  
 Twixt *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, in ages past :  
 How causes, counfels, and euent did runne,  
 So long as these unhappie times did last ;  
 Vnintermixt with fiction's fantasies.  
 I verifie the troth, not Poetize.

## 7

And to the ende wee may with better ease  
 Discerne the true discourse ; vouchsafe to shewe,  
 What were the times foregoing, neere to these,  
 That these we may with better profit knowe :  
 Tell, how the world fell into this diseafe,  
 And how so great distemperature did growe.  
 So shall we see, by what degrees it came,  
 " How things, at full, do foone wex out of frame.

## 8

Ten Kings had, from the *Norman* Conqueror, raignd,<sup>1</sup>  
 With intermixt and variable fate,  
 When *England* to her greatest height attain'd  
 Of powre, dominion, glorie, wealth, and State ;

<sup>1</sup> Which mat[ched] in the space of 260. years.

St. 6, l. 1, 'pref'erureffe' : l. 7, , removed after 'fictions' : l. 8, ; after 'troth.'

St. 7, l. 2, 'progresse ; here begin' : l. 8, 'grown . . . grow'.

St. 8—'. . . now raignd of the Norman race  
 With variable fortune turning chaunce,  
 All in two hundreth sixtie one yeares space,  
 Then *Edward*, third of name and first of Fraunce,  
 Posselt the crowne in fortunes highest grace ;  
 And did to greatest state, his state aduance,

After it had, with much adoo, sustain'd  
The violence of Prinçes, with debate  
For titles, and the often mutinies  
Of Nobles, for their ancient liberties.

## 9

For, first, the *Norman*,<sup>1</sup> conquering all by might,  
By might was forc't to keepe what he had got ;  
Mixing our Customes and the forme of *Right*  
With foraine Constitutions he had brought :  
Maistering the mightie, humbling the poorer wight  
By all feuerest meanes that could be wrought :  
And, making the succeßion oubtfull, rent  
This new-got State, and left it turbulent.

When *England* might the largest limits see  
That euer any King attaind but hee ' 1 :

and this cancelled stanza in ' 1, \* as st. 9 :—

' For most of all the rest, toyl'd in vnrest,  
What with wrong titles, what with inward broyl,  
Hardlie a true establishment posselt  
Of what they fought with such exceeding toyle :  
For why their power within itself oppress,  
Scarce could break forth to greatnes al that while ;  
Such was the childhood of this state did passe,  
Before it could attaine to what it waffe.'

St. 9, l. 3,— ' Altring the lawes, chaunging . . .  
And placing barbarous Customes he had brought ' :

l. 6, ' With grievous taxes tyranie had fought ' 1 : ll. 7-8—

' Scarce laide th'affured grounds to build upon,  
The change fo hatefull and such courfe begon ' 1.

<sup>1</sup> 1067. Willia 1. surnamed the Conqueror, the base sonne to Robert the first Duke of Normandie, raigned 20. yeares and 8. monthes, and left the Crowne of England to William his third sonne ; contrary to the custome of succeßion. (In ' 1 ' William the Conqueror ' only in margin, and so throughout.)

## 10

*William* his sonne,<sup>1</sup> tracing his fathers wayes  
 (The great men spent in peace, or slaine in fight)  
 Vpon depressed weaknes onely preyes,  
 And makes his force maintaine his doubtfull right :  
 His elder brothers clayme, vexing his dayes,  
 His actions and exactions still incite :  
 And giuing Beastes, what did to Men pertaine  
 (Tooke for a Beast) himselfe in th'end was slaine.

## 11

His brother *Henrie*<sup>2</sup> next commands the State :  
 Who, *Roberts* title better to reiect,  
 Seekes to repacifie the peoples hate ;  
 And with faire shewes, rather then in effect,  
 Allayes those grieuances that heaue fate :  
 Reformes the lawes, which foone hee did neglect ;  
 And rest of sonnes, for whom he did prepare,  
 Leaues crowne and strife, to *Maude* his daughters care.

<sup>1</sup> 1087. William 2. had wars with his elder brother Robert D. of Normandie : with whom his Vncle Otho, and many of the Nobilitie of Eng. tooke part. Hee was slaine hunting in the new Forrest by Sir Walter Tirell, shooting at a deere, when he had reigned 13. yeares.

<sup>2</sup> 1100. Hen. 1. the youngest sonne of William 1. reigned 35. yeares, & 4 monthes, whose sonnes Will. & Ric. being drowned on the Seas, he leaues the Crow. to Maude first married to the Emperour, Hen. 4. and after to Geoffrey Plantagenet E. of Aniou.

St. 10, l. 1, 'the selfe-same' : l. 2, 'The great outworne with war, or slaine in peace' : l. 3, 'Only vpon' : ll. 4-7, 'Treades down what was likeliest to increafe,' 'Those that were left, being left to wofull daies' 'Had onely power to wifh for some release,' 'Whilst . . . ' : l. 8, 'was after'.

St. 11, l. 1, '*Henrie* his brother raignes when he had done' : ll. 3, 4 The *Norman Duke* the Conquerours first sonne,' 'Lightens in shew . . . ' : l. 5, 'Those greuances, his fatall race begunne' : l. 7, 'Whose sons being drown'd'.



## 12

Whom *Stephen*<sup>1</sup> his nephew (falsifying his Oath)  
 Preuents ; assayles the Realme ; obtaines the Crowne ;  
 Such tumults rayfing as torment them both,  
 Whil't both held nothing certainly their owne :  
 Th'afflicted State (diuided in their troth  
 And partiall faith) most miserable growne,  
 Endures the while, till peace, and *Stephens* death,  
 Gae some calme leasure to recouer breath.

## 13

When *Henrie*,<sup>2</sup> sonne to *Maude* the Empreffe, raignes,  
 And *England* into forme and greatnes brought,  
 Addes *Ireland* to this Scepter, and obtaines  
 Large Prouinces in *Fraunce* ; much treasure gote,  
 And from exactions here at home abstaynes :  
 And had not his rebellious children fought  
 T'imbroyle his age with tumults, he had beene  
 The happiest Monarch that this State had seene.

<sup>1</sup> 1135. Stephen son to the E. of Bloys & Adela daughter to Wil. 1. inuades the kingdōe cōtēdes with Maude the Empreffe for the succeffion, and raigned tumultuarly 18. yeares and 10. monethes.

<sup>2</sup> 1154. Hen. 2. sonne of Geffry Plantagenet E. of Aniou & Maude the Empreffe associated his sonne Hen. in the Crowne and gouernment : which turned to his great disturbance, and set all his sonnes, Henry, Richard, Geffry, & Iohn against him. He raigned 34. yeares & 7. months.

St. 12, l. 3, 'Rayfing such '': l. 8, 'Conclude some hope of quiet ; to take breath '.

St. 13— 'The sonne of *Maud* (from *Saxon* bloud deriu'd  
 By mothers line) succeeds th' vnrightful King,  
*Henrie* the second, in whose raigne reuiu'd  
 Th' oppressed state, and first began to spring ;  
 And o if he had not bene too long liu'd  
 T' haue seene th' affliction that his age did bring  
 By his vngodly sonnes ; then happie man,  
 For they against him warr'd, for whom he wan ' (1, 2).

14

Him, *Richard*<sup>1</sup> followes in the gouernment :  
 Who much the glory of our Armes increast ;  
 And all his fathers mighty treasure spent,  
 In that deuoutfull Action of the *East* :  
 Whereto, whiles he his forces wholly bent,  
 Despight and treason his designs opprest ;  
 A faithlesse brother, and a fatall King,  
 Cut-off his growth of glory, in the spring.

15<sup>d</sup>

Which wicked brother, contrary to course,  
 False *Iohn*<sup>2</sup> vsurpes his *Nephew Arthurs* right ;  
 Gets to the Crowne by craft, by wrong, by force ;  
 Rules it with lust, oppreffion, rigour, might ;  
 Murders the lawfull heire without remorse :  
 Wherefore procuring all the worlds despight,  
 A Tyrant loath'd, a homicide conuented,  
 Poysoned he dyes, disgrac't and vnlamented.

<sup>1</sup> 1189. Richard went to the Holy warres, was king of Ierusalem whiles his brother Iohn by the help of the King of France vsurpt the crown of England. Hee was detained prisoner in Austria, redeemed, and reigned nine years. 9. months.

<sup>2</sup> 1199. K. Iohn vsurps the right of Arthur, sonne to Geffery his elder brother ; and raignes 17 yeares. Hee had warres with his Barons ; who elected Lewis, Sonne to the K. of France.

St. 14, l. 1, 'But now comes *Richard* to succeed his fire' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, l. 3, , His fathers limits bound not his desire' <sup>1</sup>: ll. 4-6—

'He speeds the English Ensignes in the East,  
 And whilst his vertues would haue raifd him hyer,  
 Treason and malice his great actions ceast' <sup>1</sup>.

In <sup>1</sup> as st. 15—

15.

All *Ireland, Scotland*, th' *Iles of Orcaides*  
*Poytiers, Guienne, Britanny* hee got,  
 And leades forth sorrow from it selfe to theafe,  
 Recouers strength at home so feeble brought :

## 16

*Henrie*<sup>1</sup> his sonne is chosen King, though young,  
 And *Lewes* of *France* (elected first) beguil'd ;  
 After the mighty had debated long,  
 Doubtfull to choofe a straunger or a child :

Giues courage to the strong, to weaker ease ;  
 Ads to the state what *England* neuer fought :  
 Who him succeed (the forraine bloud out growne)  
 Are home born Kings by speech and birth our owne.

## 16.

So hitherto the new borne state in teares  
 Was in her raw and wayling infancie,  
 During a hundred two and twentie yeares  
 Vnder the hand of straungers tyranny :  
 And now some better strength and youth appeares  
 Which promises a glad recouery :  
 For hard beginnings haue the greatest states,  
 What with their owne, or neighbourers debates.

## 17.

Euen like to *Rheine* which in his birth opprest,  
 Strangled almost with rocks and mightie hills,  
 Workes out a way to come to better rest ;  
 Wars with the mountaines, striues against their wils,  
 Brings forth his streames in vnitie possesse  
 Into the quiet bed he prouddie fils ;  
 Carrying that greatnes which he cannot keepe  
 Vnto his death and buriall in the deepe :

## 18.

So did the worldes proud *Mistres* Rome, at first  
 Striue with a hard beginning, warr'd with need ;  
 Forcing her strong Confiners to the worst,  
 And in her bloud her greatnes first did heed :  
 So *Spaine* at home with *Moors* ere forth it burst  
 Did practice long and in itselfe did bleed,  
 So did our state begin with her owne woundes  
 To try her strength ere it enlarg'd her boundes. (So too in<sup>2</sup>.)

<sup>1</sup> 1216. Hen. 3. at 9. yeares of age, was Crowned King : and raigned 56. yeares.

With him, the Barrons (in these times growne strong)  
 Warre for their auncient Lawes so long exil'd.  
 He graunts the *Charter* that pretended ease ;  
 Yet kept his owne, and did his State appeafe.

## 17

*Edward*,<sup>1</sup> his sonne, a Martiall King, succeedes ;  
 Iust, prudent, graue, religious, fortunate :  
 Whose happy ordered Raigne most fertile breeds,  
 Plenty of mighty spirits to strength his State :  
 And worthy mindes, to manage worthy deedes,  
 Th'experience of those times ingenerate :  
 For, euer great imployment, for the great,  
 Quickens the blood, and honour doth beget.

## 18

And had not his mis-led lasciuious Sonne,  
*Edward* the second,<sup>2</sup> intermitted so  
 The course of glory happily begunne  
 (Which brought him and his fauorites to woe)  
 That happy current without stop had runne  
 Vnto the full of his sonne *Edwards* flowe :  
 But, who hath often seene, in such a State,  
 Father and Sonne like good, like fortunate ?

<sup>1</sup> 1272. Ed. 1. had the dominion ouer this whole Iland of Britaine : and reigned gloriously 34. yeares. 7. Moneths.

<sup>2</sup> 1307. Edward 2. abused by his Minions & debauched by his owne weaknesse, was deposed frō his government, when he had reigned 19. yeares 6. moneths ; and was murdered in prison.

## 19

But now, this great Succeder,<sup>1</sup> all repaires,  
 And reinduc't that discontinued good :  
 He builds vp strength & greatnes, for his heires,  
 Out of the virtues that adorn'd his blood :  
 He makes his Subiects Lords of more then theirs ;  
 And sets their bounds farre wider then they stood.  
 His powre, and fortune, had sufficient wrought,  
 Could but the State haue kept what he had got.

## 20

And had his heire<sup>2</sup> surui'd him in due course,  
 What limits *England* hadst thou found ? what barre ?  
 What world could haue resisted so great force ?  
 O more then men ! (two thunderbolts of warre)  
 Why did not Time your ioyned worth diuorce,  
 T'haue made your feuerall glories greater farre ?  
 Too prodigall was Nature, thus to doe ;  
 To spend in one Age, what should serue for two.

## 21

But now the Scepter, in this glorious State,  
 Supported with strong powre and victorie,  
 Was left vnto a Child<sup>3</sup> ; ordain'd by fate  
 To stay the course of what might growe too hie :  
 Here was a stop, that Greatnesse did abate,  
 When powre vpon so weake a base did lie.

<sup>1</sup> 1326. Edw. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Edward the black prince who died before his father.

<sup>3</sup> Richard. 2. being but 11. yeares of age, was crowned K. of England.

1377.

St. 19, l. 2, 'rebrings-backe' : ll. 7, 8—

' Could greatnes haue but kept what he had gote  
 It was enough he did, and what he wrought' .

For, least great fortune should presume too farre,  
Such oppositions interposed are.

## 22

Neuer this Iland better peopled stood ;  
Neuer more men of might, and minds addrest :  
Neuer more Princes of the royall blood,  
(If not too many for the publike Rest)  
Nor euer was more treasure, wealth and good ;  
Then when this *Richard* first, the Crowne possessest ;  
The second of that name, in two accurst :  
And well we might haue mist all, but the first.

## 23

In this mans Raigne, began this fatal strife  
(The bloudie argument whereof we treat)  
That dearely cost so many'a Prince his life ;  
And spoyld the weake, and euen consum'd the great :  
That, wherein all confusion was so rife,  
As Memory euen grieues her to repeat,  
And would that time might now this knowledge lose ;  
But that tis good to learne by others woes.

## 24

*Edward* the third, being dead, had left this child,<sup>1</sup>  
(Sonne of his worthy sonne deceast of late)  
The Crowne and Scepter of this Realme to wield :  
Appointing the protectors of his State  
Two of his sonnes, to be his better shield ;  
Supposing Vncles, free from guile or hate,

<sup>1</sup> Richard the 2. son to the blacke prince.

St. 22, l. 7, 'Second of name, a name in two accurst'.

St. 23, l. 4, 'That' : l. 5, 'calamitie was rife' : l. 6, 'That' : l. 7, 'would now'.

St. 24, l. 6, , removed before 'Vncles,' as in '.

Would order all things for his better good,  
In the respect and honour of their bloud.

25

Of these, *John*, Duke of *Lancaster*, was one,  
(Too great a Subject growne, for such a State.  
The title of a King,<sup>1</sup> and glorie wonne,  
In great exploits his mind did eleuate  
Aboue proportion kingdomes stand vpon :  
Which made him push at what his issue gate)  
The other, *Langley* :<sup>2</sup> whose mild temperatnefs  
Did tend vnto a calmer quietneffe.

26

With these, did *Woodstock*<sup>3</sup> interpose his part ;  
A man, for action violently bent,  
And of a spirit averfe, and ouer-thwart ;  
Which could not sute a peace-full gouernment :  
Whose euer-fwelling, and tumultuous heart  
Wrought his owne ill and others discontent.  
And these had all the manage of affayres,  
During the time the King was vnder yeares.

<sup>1</sup> The D. of Lancaster intituled K. of Castile in the right of his wife  
Constance eldest daughter to K. Peter.

<sup>2</sup> Edmond Langly Earle of Cambridge ; after created D. of Yorke.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas of Woodstocke after made D. of Glocester.

St. 25, l. 3, 'what h' had done' : ll. 7, 8—

'Edmond Langley, whose mild sprite  
Affected quiet and a safe delight.'

St. 26—'With these did interpose his proud vnrest  
Thomas of Woodstocke, one most violent,  
Impatient of command, of peace, of rest,  
Whose brow would show, that which his hart had ment :  
His open malice and repugnant breft  
Procur'd much mischief by his discontent :  
And these had all the charge of king and state,  
Till by himselfe he might it ordinate' <sup>1</sup>.

## 27

And in the first yeares of his gouernment,  
 Things past, as first ; the warres in *France* proceed,  
 Though not with that fame fortune and euent,  
 Being now not followed with such carefull heed ;  
 Our people here at home, growne discontent,  
 Through great exactions, insurrections breed :  
 Priuate respects hindred the Common-weale :  
 And idle ease doth on the mighty steale.

## 28

Too many Kings breed factions in the Court :  
 The head too weake, the members growne too great.  
 Which euermore doth happen in this sort,  
 When Children rule ; the plague which God doth threat  
 Vnto those Kingdomes which he will transport  
 To other Lynes, or vtterly defeat :  
 " For, the ambitious, once inur'd to raigne,  
 " Can neuer brook a priuate state againe.

## 29

" And Kingdomes euer suffer this distresse,  
 " Where one, or many, guide the infant King :  
 " Which one or many (tasting this excesse  
 " Of greatnesse & command) can neuer bring  
 " Their thoughts againe t'obay, or to be lesse.  
 " From hence, these insolencies euer spring ;

St. 28, ll. 3, 4—

' O this is that which kingdomes doth transport,  
 This plague the heauens do for iniustice threat '.

ll. 5, 6—' . . . who euer in this sort

Confound the state their ancessors did get '.

St. 29, l. 2, ' For ' (bad).



"Contempt of others, whom they seek to foyle :  
 "Then follow leagues, destruction, ruine, spoyle.

## 30

And whether they, which vnder-went this charge,  
 Permit the King to take a youthfull vaine,  
 That they their priuate better might inlarge :  
 Or whether he himselfe would farther straine  
 (Thinking his yeeres sufficient to discharge  
 The gouernment) and so assum'd the raine :  
 Or howsoeuer, now his care he lends  
 To youthfull counsell, and his lustes attends.

## 31

And Courts were neuer barren yet of those  
 Which could with subtile traine, and apt aduice,  
 Worke on the Princes weakenesse, and dispose  
 Of feeble frailtie, easie to entice.  
 And such, no doubt, about this King arose,  
 Whose flatterie (the dangerous nurse of vice)  
 Got hand vpon his youth, to pleasures bent :  
 Which, led by them, did others discontent.

## 32

For, now his Vncles grew much to mislike  
 These ill proceedings ; were it that they saw  
 That others, fauour'd, did aspiring seeke  
 Their Nephew from their counsels to withdraw,

St. 30, l. 1, 'Whether it were that they which had the charge' : l. 2, 'Suffred to' : l. 6, ' . . . presum'd to take the ' : l. 7, 'We will not faie ; but'.

St. 31, l. 4, 'easieft' : l. 8, 'lead'.

(Seeing him of nature flexible, and weake)  
 Because they onely would keepe all in awe ;  
 Or that indeede they found the King and State  
 Abus'd by such as now in office fate.

## 33

Or rather else, they all were in the fault ;  
 Th'ambitious Vncles, th'indiscrete young King,  
 The greedie Councill, and the Minions naught ;  
 And altogether did this tempest bring :  
 Besides, the times, with all iniustice fraught,  
 Concurr'd, with such confus'd misgouerning,  
 That wee may truely say, This spoyle the State,  
 " Youthfull Counsaile, priuate Gaine, partiall Hate.

## 34

And then the King, besides his iealousies  
 Which nourisht were, had reason to be led  
 To doubt his Vncles for their loyalties ;  
 Since *Iohn of Gaunt* (as was discouered)  
 Had practis'd his death in secret wife ;  
 And *Gloster* openly becomes the head -  
 Vnto a league, who all in armes were bent  
 T'oppose against the present gouernement ;

## 35

Pretending to remoue such men as were  
 Accounted to abuse the king, and State.

St. 32, l. 5, 'meeke'¹. St. 33, l. 6, 'in this'¹.

St. 34, l. 1, '... sure . . . plainly discoureth'¹,²: l. 2, 'Apparant  
 cause his Vnckles to suspect'¹: l. 3, 'For *Iohn of Gaunt* was said to seeke  
 his death'¹: l. 4, 'By secret meanes, which came not to effect'¹: l. 5,  
 'The *Duke of Gloster* likewise practiseth'¹: l. 6, 'In open world that all  
 men might detect'¹: l. 7, 'And leagues his Nobles, and in greatest  
 strength'¹: l. 8, 'Rises in armes against him too at length'¹.

Of whome, the chiefe they did accuse, was *Veere*,<sup>1</sup>  
 Made Duke of *Ireland*, with great grace of late ;  
 And diuers else, who for the place they beare  
 Obnoxious are, and subiect vnto hate.  
 And these must be sequestred with all speed :  
 Or else they vow'd, their swordes should doo the deed.

## 36

The King was forc't in that next Parliament,<sup>2</sup>  
 To grant them what he durst not well refuse:  
 For, thither arm'd they came, and fully bent  
 To suffer no repulse, nor no excuse :  
 And here they did accomplish their intent ;  
 Where Iustice did her sword, not Ballance, vse.  
 For, euen that sacred place they violate,  
 Arresting all the Iudges as they fate.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Veere Duke of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> Ann. Reg. 11. the D. of Gloster with the E. E. of Darby, Arüdel, Nottingham, Warwicke, & other L. L. hauing forced the K.' to put from him all his officers of-Court, at this Parliamēt, caused most of the to be executed : as, Iohn Beauchamp L. Steward of his house, Sir Simon Burley, L. Chamberlaine, with many other. Also the L. chief Iustice was here executed, and all the Iudges condēned to death, for maintaining the kings prerogatiue against these L. L. & the constitutions of the last Parliament, in Ann. 10.

St. 35—' Vnder pretence from him to take away,  
 Such as they said the States oppressors weare,  
 To whom the Realme has now become a prey ;  
 The chief of whom they nam'd was *Robert Vere*  
 Then Duke of Ireland ; bearing greatest sway  
 About the king, who held him only dere :  
 Him they would haue remou'd and diuers more,  
 Or else would neuer lay downe armes they fware ' 1.

St. 36, l. 8, ' And there arrest the Iudges as they fate ' 1.

## 37

And here had many worthy men their ende,  
 Without all forme, or any course of Right.  
 "For, still these broyles, that publike good pretend,  
 "Worke most iniustice, being done through spight.  
 "For, those aggriued euermore do bend  
 "Against such as they see of greatest might :  
 "Who, though they cannot helpe what will go ill ;  
 "Yet, since they may doo wrong, are thought they will.

## 38

And yet herein I meane not to excuse  
 The Iustices, and Minions of the King  
 (Who might their office and their grace abuse)  
 But blame the course held in the managing :  
 "For, great-men, ouer-grac't, much rigor vse ;  
 "Prefuming fauorits discontentment bring :  
 "And disproportions harmonie do breake ;  
 "Minions, too great, argue a king too weake.

## 39

Now, that so much was granted, as was fought ;  
 A reconcilement made, although not ment,  
 Appeaf'd them all in shewe, but not in thought,  
 Whilst euery one seem'd outwardly content :

St. 37, l. 1, 'Which soone with many others had' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>: l. 2, 'Cruelly  
 flaine without the course of right' <sup>1</sup>, 'All put to death without the' <sup>2</sup>: l. 3,  
 'And still these warres' <sup>1</sup>: l. 4, 'for' <sup>1</sup>: l. 5, 'the' <sup>1</sup>: l. 6, 'those whom' <sup>1</sup>:  
 l. 7, 'themselues are wrong'd and often forst' <sup>1</sup>: l. 8, 'for . . . can . . .  
 most . . . the worst' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 38, l. 1, 'I do not feeme herein' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>: l. 4, 'onely blame the  
 course of' <sup>1</sup>: colon for period accepted <sup>1</sup>: l. 5, 'too well' <sup>1</sup>: ; for .—  
 accepted <sup>1</sup>: l. 6, ' . . . mischief euen' <sup>1</sup>: ; accepted for . ; so in next line :  
 l. 7, 'So that concluding I may boldly speake' <sup>1</sup>:

Though hereby king, nor peeres, nor people got  
 More loue, more strength, or easier gouernment ;  
 But euery day, things still succeeded worfe.  
 " For good from Kings is seldome drawne by force.

## 40

And thus it loe continued, till by chaunce  
 The Queene (which was the Emperours daughter) di'de :  
 When-as the King, t'establish peace with *Fraunce*,<sup>1</sup>  
 And better for home-quiet to prouide,  
 Sought by contracting marriage to aduance  
 His owne affayres, against his Vncles pride ;  
 Tooke the young daughter<sup>2</sup> of King *Charles* to wife :  
 Which after, in the end, ray'd greater strife.<sup>4</sup>

## 41

For, now his vnkle *Gloster* much repin'd,  
 Against this French alliance and this peace :  
 As either out of a tumultuous minde ;  
 (Which neuer was content the warres should cease :)  
 Or that he did dishonorable finde  
 Those articles which did our State decrease ;  
 And therefore storm'd because the Crowne had wrong :  
 Or that he fear'd, the King would growe too strong.

## 42

But whatsoeuer mou'd him ; this is sure,  
 Hereby he wrought his ruine in the end ;  
 And was a fatall cause, that did procure  
 The swift approaching mischiefes that attend.

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg. 18.<sup>2</sup> Ann. 20. Isabel, daughter to Charles 6.St. 40, l. 1, 'this'<sup>1</sup> (bad).St. 41, l. 3. 'Hauing himselfe a working stirring'<sup>1</sup>: l. 6, 'that . . . did our boundes'<sup>1</sup>.St. 42, l. 1, 'Or'<sup>1</sup>.

For loe, the King no longer could indure  
 Thus to be croft in what he did intend ;  
 And therefore watcht but some occasion fit  
 T'attache the Duke, when he thought least of it.

## 43

And Fortune, to set forward this intent,  
 The Cont S. *Paule*,<sup>1</sup> from *France*, doth hither bring :  
 Whom *Charles* the sixt imploy'd in complement,  
 To see the Queene, and to salute the King.  
 To whom he shewes his Vncles discontent,  
 And of his secret dangerous practising,  
 How he his Subiectes sought to fulleuate,  
 And breake the league with *Fraunce* concluded late.

## 44

To whom the Cont, most cunningly replies ;  
 " Great Prince, it is within your power, with ease  
 " To remedy such feares, such iealousies,  
 " And rid you of such mutiners as these ;  
 " By cutting off that, which might greater rise,  
 " And now at first, preuenting this disease,  
 " And that before he shall your wrath disclose ;  
 " For, who threats first, meanes of reuenge doth lose.

## 45

" First take his head, then tell the reason why :  
 " Stand not to finde him guiltie by your lawes ;  
 " You easier shall with him your quarrell trie  
 " Dead then aliue, who hath the better cause.

<sup>1</sup> Valeran E. of S. Paule who had married the kings halfe sister.

St. 43, l. 1, 'now to further' : l. 2, 'The great Earle of S. Paule' :  
 l. 3, 'From Charles of France vnto the yong Q. sent' : l. 4, '... both her' :  
 St. 44, l. 1, 'futtle Earle forthwith' : l. 5, , for : accepted from '  
 St. 45, l. 1, , for ; accepted ' : l. 2, ; for . ; l. 3, 'Easier you shall'.

" For, in the murmuring vulgar, vsually  
 " This publike course of yours compassion drawes ;  
 " Especially in cases of the great :  
 " Which worke much pittie, in the vndiscreat.

## 46

" And this is sure, though his offence be such :  
 " Yet doth calamitie attract commorse :  
 " And men repine at Princes blood-shed much,  
 " (How iust-foeuer) iudging tis by force.  
 " I know not how their death giues such a tuch,  
 " In those that reach not to a true discourse ;  
 " As so shall you, obseruing formall right,  
 " Be held still as vniust, and win more spight.

## 47

" And, oft, the cause may come preuented so :  
 " And therefore when tis done, let it be heard.  
 " For, thereby shall you scape your priuate wo.  
 " And satisfie the world too, afterward.  
 " What neede you weigh the rumors that shall go ?  
 " What is that breath, being with your life compar'd ?  
 " And therefore, if you will be rul'd by me,  
 " In secret fort, let him dispatched bee.

## 48

And then arraigne the chiefe of those you finde  
 Were of his faction secretly compact :  
 Who may so well be handled in their kinde ;  
 As their confessions, which you shall exact,

St. 46, l. 5, , after 'how' removed, as in ' : l. 7, 'That' ' : l. 8, 'Still thought' '.

St. 47, l. 8, ' Strangled or poison'd secret let him ' '.

St. 48. l. 3, ' Whom you may wisely order in such ' ' : l. 4, 'That you maie such confessions then ' '.

May both appease the aggrieved peoples minde,  
 And make their death to aggrauate their fact.  
 So shall you rid your selfe of dangers quite ;  
 And shew the world, that you haue done but right.

## 49

This counsell, vttred vnto such an eare  
 As willing listens to the safest wayes,  
 Workes on the yeelding matter of his feare ;  
 Which easily to any course obayes.  
 For, euery Prince, feeling his daunger neere,  
 By any meanes his quiet peace affaies.  
 " And still the greatest wrongs, that euer were,  
 " Haue then been wrought, when Kings were put in feare.

## 50

Call'd in with publique pardon, and release,  
 The *Duke of Gloster*, with his complices<sup>1</sup> ;  
 All tumults, all contentions seem to cease,  
 The land rich, people pleas'd, all in happinesse :  
 When sodainely *Gloster* came caught, with peace ;  
*VVarwicke*, with profered loue and promises :  
 And *Arundell* was in, with cunning brought :  
 Who else abroad, his safetie might haue wrought.

<sup>1</sup> At the parliament, in Anno 11. the LL. of the league with Gloster being pardoned for their opposing against the kings proceedings, were quiet till Anno 21 ; when vpon report of a new conspiracie, they were surpris'd.

St. 48, l. 5, 'As both you may appease the peoples': l. 6, 'And by . . . much . . . the'.

St. 50—53 not in '95.



## 51

Long was it not, ere *Gloster* was conuayd  
 To *Calice*, and there strangled secretly<sup>1</sup> :  
*VVarwicke* and *Arundell* close prisoners laid,  
 Th'especiall men of his confederacie :  
 Yet *VVarwicks* teares and base confessions staide  
 The doome of death ; and came confin'd thereby,  
 And so prolongs this not long base-begg'd breath :  
 But *Arundell* was put to publike death.

## 52

Which publike death (receiu'd with such a cheare,  
 As not a figh, a looke, a shrink bewrayes  
 The least felt touch of a degenerous feare)  
 Gaue life to Enuie, to his courage prayse ;  
 And made his stout-defended cause appeare  
 With such a face of Right, as that it layes  
 The fide of wrong t'wards him, who had long since  
 By Parliament<sup>2</sup> forgiuen this offence :

<sup>1</sup> Mowbray E. Marshal, after made Duke of Norfolke, had the charge of dispatching the D. of Gloster, at Calice.

<sup>2</sup> The K. had by Parliament before pardoned the D. and those two Earles : yet was the pardon reuoked.

St. 55 here—' And long it was not ere he apprehendes  
 The Duke, who clofe to *Calice* was conuie'd,  
 And th' Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwicke* sendes,  
 Both in close prifons strongly to be laid ;  
 And soone the Duke his life vnquiet endes,  
 Strangled in secret ere it was bewraide ;  
 And *Arundell* was put to publike death,  
 But *Warwicke* by great meanes he baniſheth ' 1.

## 53

And in the vnconceiuing vulgar fort,  
 Such an impreffion of his goodnes gaue  
 As *Sainted* him, and rayf'd a strange report  
 Of miracles effected on his Graue :  
 Although the Wife (whome zeale did not transport)  
 " Knew, how each great example ftill muft haue  
 " Something of wrong, a tafte of violence ;  
 " Wherewith, the publique quiet doth difpenfe.

## 54

The King forth-with prouides him of a Guard ;  
 A thoufand Archers daily to attend :  
 Which now vpon the a<sup>c</sup>t he had prepar'd,  
 As th'argument his a<sup>c</sup>tions to defend :  
 But yet the world hereof conceiu'd fo hard,  
 That all this nought auaild him in the end. /  
 " In vaine, with terror is he fortified,  
 " That is not guarded with firme loue befide.

## 55

Now ftorme his grieued Vnckles, though in vaine ;  
 Not able better courfes to aduife.  
 They might their grieuance inwardly complaine ;  
 But outwardly they needes muft temporife.  
 The King was great ; and they fhould nothing gaine  
 T'attempt reuenge, or offer once to rife :  
 This league with *Fraunce* had made him now fo ftrong,  
 That they muft needes as yet indure this wrong.

St. 54, l. 1, ' And for his perfon he procures ' 1.

St. 55, l. 1, ' his vnckles albeit ' 1 : l. 2, ' For that no remedy they could  
 deuife ' 1 : l. 3, ' forrowes ' 1.

56<sup>1</sup>

For, like a Lion that escapes his boundes,  
 Hauing beene long restrain'd his vse to stray,  
 Ranges the restless woods, stayes on no ground,  
 Riots with blood-shed, wantons on his praie ;  
 Seekes not for neede, but in his pride to wound,  
 Glorying to see his strength and what he may :  
 So this vnbridled King (freed of his feares)  
 In liberty, himself thus wildely beares.

57

For, standing now alone, he sees his might  
 Out of the compasse of respectiue awe ;  
 And now beginnes to violate all right,  
 While no restraining feare at hand he saw.  
 Now he exacts of all, wastes in delight,  
 Riots in pleasure, and neglects the law :  
 He thinks his Crowne is licenst to do ill.  
 " That lesse should list, that may do what it wil.

58

Thus b'ing transported in this sensuall course,  
 No friend to warne, no counsell to withstand,  
 He still proceedeth on from bad to worse ;  
 Sooth'd in all actions that he tooke in hand,  
 By such as all impietie did nurse,  
 Commending euer what hee did command.  
 " Vnhappie Kings ! that neuer may be taught  
 " To know themselues, or to discern their fault.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> — *Nihil est quod credere de se, non possit, cum laudatur, dijs æqua potestas.*

## 59

And whilst this course did much the kingdome daunt,  
 The Duke of *Herford*<sup>1</sup> being of courage bolde,  
 As sonne and heire to mighty *Iohn* of *Gaunt*,  
 Vtters the passion which he could not holde  
 Concerning these oppreſſions, and the want  
 Of gouernment : which he to *Norfolke*<sup>2</sup> told ;  
 To th'end, he (being great about the king)  
 Might do some good, by better counſelling.

## 60

Hereof doth *Norfolke* preſently take hold,  
 And to the king the whole diſcourſe relate :  
 Who, not conceipting it, as it was told,  
 But iudging it proceeded out of hate ;  
 Diſdeigning deeply to be ſo controwl'd,  
 That others ſhould his Rule preiudicate,  
 Charg'd *Herford* therewithall : who re-accuſ'd  
*Norfolke*, for words of treaſon he had vs'd.

<sup>1</sup> Hen. Bollingbroke of Hereford.

<sup>2</sup> Tho. Mowbray D. of Norfolk.

St. 59, l. 1, 'All ſylent grieue at what is donne' : l. 2, 'then' : l. 3, 'And worthily great Iohn of Gaunts firſt ſonne' : l. 5, 'In ſad diſcourſe vpon this courſe begun' : l. 6, 'Which he to Mowbray Duke of Norfolk told'.

St. 60—'The faithles Duke that preſentlie takes hold  
 Of ſuch aduantage to inſinuate,  
 Haſtes to the king, peruerting what was told,  
 And what came of good minde he makes it hate :  
 The King that might not now be ſo controld  
 Or cenſur'd in his courſe, much frets thereat :  
 Sendes for the Duke, who doth ſuch wordes deny  
 And craues the combate of his enemy'—

and in margin 'Froifart, Pol. Virg., and Hall deliuer it in this fort'.

St. 60, 61 not in <sup>1</sup>. So <sup>2</sup>.

## 61

*Norfolke* denies them peremptorily.  
*Herford* recharg'd, and supplicates the king,  
 To haue the combate of his enemie ;  
 That by his sword hee might approue the thing.  
*Norfolke* desires the same, as earnestly :  
 And both with equall courage menacing  
 Reuenge of wrong ; that none knew which was free :  
 For, times of faction, times of slander bee.

## 62

The combate granted, and the day assign'd,  
 They both in order of the field appeare,  
 Most richly furnisht in all Martiall kinde,  
 And at the point of intercombate were ;  
 When (10) the king chang'd fodainely his minde,  
 Casts downe his warder to arrest them there ;  
 As being aduif'd a better way to take,  
 Which might for his more certaine safetie make.

## 63

For, now considering (as it likely might)  
 The victorie should hap on *Herfords* side  
 (A man most valiant and of noble sprite,  
 Belou'd of all, and euer worthy tri'd)  
 How much he might be grac't in publique fight,  
 By such an act, as might aduance his pride,  
 And so become more popular by this ;  
 Which he feares, too much he already is.

St. 62, l. 1, 'Which straight was' 1, 2: l. 2, 'When' 1: l. 3, 'To  
 right each other as th'euent should find' 1: l. 4, 'And now both'euen at  
 point of combat' 1: l. 6, '. . . and so staies' 1: l. 7, 'As better now  
 aduif'd what' 1: l. 8, '. . . assured safety' 1.

## 64

And therefore he resolues to banish both,  
 Though th'one in chiefeſt fauour with him ſtood,  
 A man he dearly lou'd ; and might be loth  
 To leaue him, that had done him ſo much good :<sup>1</sup>  
 Yet hauing cauſe to do as now he doth,  
 To mitigate the enuie of his blood,  
 Thought beſt to loſe a friend, to rid a foe ;  
 And ſuch a one, as now he doubted ſo.

## 65

And therefore to perpetuall exile hee  
*Mowbray* condemnes ; *Herford* but for ten yeares :  
 Thinking (for that the wrong of this decree,  
 Compar'd with greater rigour, leſſe appeares)  
 It might of all the better liked bee :  
 But yet ſuch murmuring of the fact he heares,  
 That he is faine ſoure of the ten forgiue,  
 And iudg'd him fixe yeares in exile to liue.

## 66

At whoſe departure hence out of the Land,  
 How did the open multitude reueale  
 The wondrous loue they bare him vnder-hand !  
 Which now, in this hote paſſion of their zeale,  
 They plainly ſhew'd ; that all might vnderſtand  
 How deare he was vnto the common weale.  
 They feard not to exclaime againſt the King ;  
 As one, that fought all good mens ruining.

<sup>1</sup> Mowbray was baniſhed the very day (by the courſe of the yeere)  
 whereon he murdered the D. of Gloceſter.

## 67

Vnto the shore, with teares, with fighes, with mone,  
 They him conduct ; curfing the bounds that stay  
 Their willing feete, that would haue further gone,  
 Had not the fearefull *Ocean* stopt their way :  
 " Why *Neptune*, Haft thou made vs stand alone  
 " Diuided from the world, for this, say they ?  
 " Hemd-in, to be a spoyle to tyrannie,  
 " Leauing affliction hence no way to flie ?

## 68

" Are we lockt vp, poore foules, heere to abide  
 " Within the waterie prifon of thy waues,  
 " As in a fold, where fubiect to the pride  
 " And luft of Rulers we remaine as flauers ?  
 " Here in the reach of might, where none can hide  
 " From th'eye of wrath, but onely in their Graues ?  
 " Happie confiners you of other landes,  
 " That shift your foyle, and oft fcape tyrants hands.

## 69

" And muft we leaue him here, whom here were fit  
 " We should retaine, the pillar of our State ?  
 " Whofe vertues well deferue to gouerne it,  
 " And not this wanton young effeminate.  
 " Why should not he in Regall honour fit,  
 " That beft knowes how a Realme to ordinate ?  
 " But, one day yet, we hope thou fhalt bring backe  
 " (Deare *Bullingbrooke*) the Iuftice that we lacke.

St. 67, l. 5, ; after 'Neptune' removed, and , substituted.

St. 69, l. 1, 'Ah . . . that'.

## 70

" Thus muttred, loe, the malecontented fort ;  
 " That loue Kings best, before they haue them, still ;  
 " And neuer can the present State comport,  
 " But would as often change, as they change will.  
 For, this good Duke had wonne them in this fort  
 By succ'ring them, and pittying of their ill,  
 That they supposd streight it was one thing,  
 To be both a good Man, and a good King.

## 71

When-as the grauer fort that saw the course,  
 And knew that Princes may not be controld,  
 Lik't well to suffer this, for feare of worfe ;  
 " Since, many great, one Kingdome cannot hold.  
 For, now they saw, intestine strife, of force,  
 The apt-diuided State intangle would,  
 If he should stay whom they would make their head,  
 By whom the vulgar body might be led.

## 72

" They saw likewise, that Princes oft are faine  
 " To buy their quiet, with the price of wrong :  
 And better 'twere that now a few complaine,  
 Then all should mourne, aswell the weake as strong :  
 Seeing still how little Realmes by chaunge do gaine ;  
 And therefore learned by obseruing long,  
 " T'admire times past, follow the present will,  
 " Wifh for good Princes, but t'indure the ill.

St. 70, l. 4, 'oft . . . their' 1.

St. 72, l. 5, , removed after 'little,' as in 1.



## 73

For, when it nought auailles, what folly then  
To striue against the current of the time ?  
Who will throwe downe himselfe, for other men,  
That make a ladder by his fall to clime ?  
Or who would seeke t'imbroyle his Country, when  
He might haue rest ; suffering but others crime ?  
" Since wise men euer haue preferred farre  
" Th'vniustest peace, before the iustest warre.

## 74

Thus they confidered, that in quiet sate,  
Rich or content, or else vnfit to striue :  
✓ Peace-louer wealth, hating a troublous State,  
Doth willing reasons for their rest contriue :  
But, if that all were thus confiderate,  
How should in Court, the great, the fauour'd thriue ?  
Factions must be, and these varieties :  
And some must fall, that other-some may rise.

## 75

But, long the Duke remain'd not in exile,  
Before that *Iohn of Gaunt*, his father, dies :  
Vpon whose state the king feif'd now, this while,  
Disposing of it, as his enemies.  
This open wrong no longer could beguile  
The world, that saw these great indignities.  
Which so exasperates the mindes of all,  
That they resolu'd, him home againe to call.

## 76

For, now they faw, t'was malice in the King  
 (Transported in his ill-conceiued thought)  
 That made him so to profecute the thing  
 Against all law, and in a courfe so naught.  
 And this aduantage to the Duke did bring  
 More fit occafions ; whereupon he wrought.  
 " For, to a man so ftrong, and of fuch might,  
 " He giues him more, that takes away his right.

## 77

The King in this meane time<sup>1</sup> (I know not how)  
 Was drawne into fome aétions, foorth the Land,  
 T'appeafe the *Irish*, that reuolted now :  
 And, there attending what he had in hand,  
 Neglects thofe parts from whence worfe dangers growe ;  
 As ignorant, how his affayres did ftand :  
 Whether the plot was wrought it fhould be fo,  
 Or that his fate did draw him on to go.

## 78

Moft fure it is, that hee committed here  
 An ignorant and idle ouerfight ;  
 Not looking to the Dukes proceedings there,  
 Being in the Court of *Fraunce*, where beft he might ;  
 Where both the King and all affured were  
 T'haue ftopt his courfe, being within their right ;  
 But now he was exil'd, he thought him fure ;  
 And, free from farther doubting, liv'd fecure.

<sup>1</sup> An. Reg. 22.

St. 76, l. 6, 'Fitter occafions' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 78, l. 1, 'Certaine' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>.

## 79

So blindes the sharpest counsels of the wife  
 This ouershadowing Prouidence on hie ;  
 And dazleth all their clearest fighted eyes,  
 That they see not how nakedly they lie.  
 There where they little thinke, the storme doth rise,  
 And ouercasts their cleare securitie :  
 When man hath stopt all wayes faue onely that,  
 Which (as leaft doubted) Ruine enters at.

## 80

And now was all disorder in th'excesse,  
 And whatfoeuer doth a change portend ;  
 As, idle luxurie, and wantonneffe,  
*Proteus*-like varying Pride, vaine without ende :  
 Wrong-worker *Riot* (motiue to oppresse)  
 Endles Exactions, which the idle spend ;  
 Consuming Vfurie, and credits crackt,  
 Call'd-on this purging Warre, that many lackt.

## 81

Then Ill-perfwading want, in Martiall mindes,  
 And wronged patience (long opprest with might)  
 Loofenes in all (which no religion bindes)  
 Commaunding force (the meafure made of *Right*)  
 Gaue fuell to this fire, that easie findes  
 The way t'inflame the whole indangerd quite :  
 These were the publique breeders of this Warre ;  
 By which, still greateft States confounded are.

St. 79, l. 3, 'dazeleth the '': l. 8, 'leaft suspected '':

## 82

For, now this peace with *Fraunce* had shut in here  
 The ouergrowing humours Warres do spend.  
 For, where t'euacuate no imployments were,  
 Wider th'vnwieldy burthen doth distend,  
 Men, wholly v'd to warre, peace could not beare ;  
 As knowing no other course, whereto to bend :  
 For, brought vp in the broyles of these two Reames,  
 They thought best fishing still, in troubled streames.

## 83 ✓

Like to a Riuer, that is stopt his course,  
 Doth violate his bankes, breakes his owne bed,  
 Destroyes his bounds, and ouer-runs, by force,  
 The neighbour-fieldes, irregularly spread :  
 Euen so this sodaine stop of Warre doth nurse  
 Home broyles, within it selfe, from others led :  
 So dangerous the change hereof is tri'd  
 Ere mindes 'come soft, or otherwise imploud.

## 84

But, all this makes for thee, *ô Bullingbrooke*,  
 To worke a way vnto thy Soueraintie.  
 This care, the Heauens, Fate, and Fortune tooke,  
 To bring thee to thy Scepter easily.  
 Vpon thee fall's that hap, which him forfooke,  
 Who, crownd a King, a King yet must not die.  
 Thou wert ordaind, by Prouidence, to rayse  
 A quarrell, lasting longer then thy dayes.

## 85

For, now this absent Lord, out of his Land  
 (Where though he shew'd great sprite and valor then ;  
 Being attended with a worthy band  
 Of valiant Peeres, and most couragious men)  
 Gaue time to them at home, that had in hand  
 Th'vngodly worke, and knew the season when :  
 Who faile not to aduise the Duke with speed ;  
 Solliciting to what hee foone agreed.

## 86

Who presently,<sup>1</sup> vpon so good report,  
 Relying on his friends fidelitie,  
 Conueyes himselfe out of the French Kings Court,  
 Vnder pretence to go to *Britannie* :  
 And, with his followers, that to him resort,  
 Landed in *England* : Welcom'd ioyfully  
 Of th'altrijng vulgar, apt for changes still ;  
 As headlong carried with a present will.

## 87

And com'n to quiet shore, but not to rest ;  
 The first night of his ioyfull landing here,  
 A fearefull vision doth his thoughts molest<sup>2</sup> :  
 Seeming to see in reuerent forme appeare

<sup>1</sup> The D. being banished in Septēber, landed in the beginning of Iulie, after, at Rauenspurre, in Yorkefhire, some say but with 60. men, other with 3000. and 8. shippes set forth and furnished by the Duke of Brittain. Ann. Reg. 22.

<sup>2</sup> The Genius of England appeares to Bullingbrooke.

St. 86, l. 1, 'For' : l. 2, 'He doth with cunning traine and pollicy' : l. 3, 'Conuay'.

St. 87, l. 1, 'com'd' : :

A faire and goodly woman all distrest ;  
Which, with full-weeping eyes and rented haire,  
Wringing her hands (as one that griev'd and prayd)  
With fighes commixt with words, vnto him said ;

## 88

" O ! whither dost thou tend, my vnkinde Sonne ?  
" What mischief dost thou go-about to bring  
" To her, whose *Genius* thou here lookst vpon,  
" Thy Mother-countrey, whence thy selfe didst spring ?  
" Whither thus dost thou, in ambition, run,  
" To change due course, by foule disordering ?  
" What bloodshed, what turmoyles dost thou commence,  
" To last for many wofull ages hence ?

## 89

" Stay here thy foote, thy yet vnguilty foote,  
" That canst not stay when thou art farther in,  
" Retire thee yet vnstain'd, whil't it doth boote ;  
" The end, is spoyle, of what thou dost begin :  
" Iniustice neuer yet tooke lasting roote,  
" Nor held that long, Impietie did win.  
" The babes, vnborne, shall (ð) be borne to bleed  
" In this thy quarrell, if thou do proceede.

## 90

This said, she ceast : when he in troubled thought  
Griev'd at this tale and figh't, and thus replies ;  
" Deare Countrey, ð I haue not hither brought  
" These Armes to spoyle, but for thy liberties :

St. 87, l. 6, 'rent-white' : l. 8, 'it seem'd she said'.

St. 88, l. 5, 'O whither dost thou' : l. 7, 'ð what broyles'.

" The finne be on their head, that this haue wrought ;  
 " Who wrongd me first, and thee do tyrannife.  
 " I am thy Champion, and I seeke my right :  
 " Prouok't I am to this, by others spight.

## 91

" This, this pretence, faith shee, th'ambitious finde  
 " To smoothe iniustice, and to flatter wrong.  
 " Thou dost not know what then will be thy minde,  
 " When thou shalt see thy selfe aduanc't and strong.  
 " When thou hast shak't off that, which others binde ;  
 " Thou soone forgettest what thou learnedst long. //  
 " Men do not know what then themselues will bee,  
 " When-as, more then themselues, themselues they see, ||

## 92

And herewithall, turning about he wakes,  
 Lab'ring in spirit, troubled with this strange fight :  
 And mus'd a while, waking aduifement takes  
 Of what had past in sleepe and silent night :  
 Yet hereof no important reck'ning makes,  
 But as a dreame that vanisht with the light :  
 The day designes, and what he had in hand  
 Left it to his diuerted thoughts vnscand.

## 1193

Doubtfull at first, he warie doth proceed ;  
 Seemes not t'affect that, which he did effect ;  
 Or else perhaps seemes, as he meant indeed,  
 Sought but his owne, and did no more expect.  
 Then, Fortune, thou art guiltie of his deed :  
 That didst his state aboue his hopes erect :  
 And thou must beare some blame of his great sinne ;  
 That leftst him worse, then when he did beginne.

## 94

Thou didst conspire with Pride, and with the Time,  
 To make so easie an ascent to wrong,  
 That he who had no thought so hie to clime  
 (With fauouring comfort still allur'd along)  
 Was with occasion thrust into the crime ;  
 Seeing others weakenes and his part so strong.  
 " And who is there, in such a case that will  
 " Do good, and feare, that may liue free with ill ?

## 95

We will not fay nor thinke, O *Lancaster*,  
 But that thou then didst meane as thou didst sweare  
 Vpon th'Euangelists at *Doncaster*,  
 In th'eye of heauen, and that assembly theare,  
 That thou but as an vpright orderer,  
 Sought'st to reforme th'abused Kingdome here,  
 And get thy right, and what was thine before ;  
 And this was all ; thou would'st attempt no more :

## 96

Though we might fay, and thinke, that this pretence  
 Was but a shadow to the intended act ;  
 Because th'euent doth argue the offence,  
 And plainely seemes to manifest the fact :  
 For that hereby thou mightst win confidence  
 With those, whom else thy course might hap distract,  
 And all suspicion of thy drift remoue ;  
 " Since easily men credit whom they loue.



## 97||

But, God forbid wee should so neerly pry  
 Into the lowe-deepe-buried finnes long past,  
 T'examine and conferre iniquitie,  
 Whereof faith would no memorie should last :  
 That our times might not haue t'exemplifie  
 With aged staines, but, with our owne shame cast,  
 Might thinke our blot the first, not done before ;  
 That new-made finnes might make vs blush the more.

## 98

And let vnwresting Charitie beleue  
 That then thy oath with thy intent agreed ;  
 And others faith, thy faith did first deceiue ;  
 Thy after-fortune forc't thee to this deed.  
 And let no man this idle censure giue,  
 Because th'euent proues so, 'twas so decreed.  
 " For, oft our counfels fort to other end,  
 " Then that which frailtie did at first intend.

## 99

Whil't those that are but outward lookers on  
 (Who sildome found these mysteries of State)  
 Deeme things were so contriv'd as they are done,  
 And hold that policie, which was but fate ;  
 Imagining, all former acts did run  
 Vnto that course they see th'effects relate ; ✓  
 Whil't still too short they come, or cast too far,  
 " And make these great men wiser then they ar.

St. 97, l. 6, , for ; '—accepted.

St. 98, l. 7, o (bad).

St. 99, l. 2, 'cannot' : l. 3, 'Deemes' : l. 4, 'Holding' : l. 5, 'Wondering how strange twas wrought, how close begun' : l. 6, 'And thinke all actions else did tend to that' : l. 7, 'When o how' : l. 8, 'Making the happy'.

## 100

But, by degrees he ventures now on blood ;  
 And sacrific'd, vnto the peoples loue,  
 The death of those that chiefe in enuie stood :  
 As, th'Officers (who first these dangers proue)  
 The Treasurer, and those whom they thought good,<sup>1</sup>  
*Busby* and *Greene*, by death he must remoue :  
 These were the men, the people thought, did caufe  
 Those great exactions, and abus'd the lawes.

## 101

This done, his cause was preacht with learned skill,  
 By *Arundel*, th'Archbishop<sup>2</sup> : who there show'd  
 A Pardon sent from *Rome*, to all that will  
 Take part with him, and quit the faith they ow'd  
 To *Richard* ; as a Prince vnfit and ill :  
 On whom the Crowne was fatally bestow'd.  
 And easie-yeelding zeale was quickly caught,  
 With what the mouth of grauity had taught.

## 102 ||||

O that this power, from euerlasting giuen  
 (The great alliance made twixt God and vs ;  
 Th'intelligence that earth doth hold with heauen)  
 Sacred Religion ; ô that thou must thus  
 Be made to smoothe our wayes vniust, vneuen ;<sup>3</sup>  
 Brought from aboue, earth-quarrels to discusse !  
 Must men beguile our soules, to winne our wils,  
 And make our Zeale the furtherer of ils ?

<sup>1</sup> The D. put to death VVilliã Scroope E. of Wiltshire, Treasurer of Eng. with Sir Hen. Greene, & Sir Iohn Busby, for misgouerning the king and the Realme.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Arundel Archbish. of Canterburie.

<sup>3</sup> *Bis peccat, qui pretextu Religionis peccat.*

St. 101, l. 2, ' And th'Archbishop of Canterbury ' 1.

## 103

But, the ambitious, to aduance their might,  
 Dispenſe with heauen, and what Religion would.  
 “The armed will finde right, or els make right;  
 If this meanes wrought not, yet an other ſhould.  
 And this and other now do all incite  
 To ſtrength the faction that the Duke doth hold:  
 Who eaſily obtained what he fought;  
 His vertues and his loue ſo greatly wrought.

## 104

The King, ſtill buſied in this *Irish* warre  
 (Which by his valour there did well ſucceed)  
 Had newes, how here his Lords reuolted are,  
 And how the Duke of *Herford* doth proceede:  
 In theſe, affaires he feares are growne too farre;  
 Haſtes his returne from thence with greateſt ſpeed:  
 But was by tempeſts, windes, and ſeas debarr’d;  
 As if they likewise had againſt him warr’d.

## 105

But, at the length (though late) in Wales he lands:  
 Where, thoroughly inform’d of *Henries* force,  
 And well aduertif’d how his owne caſe ſtands  
 (Which to his griefe he ſees tends to the worſe)  
 He leaues t’*Aumarle*,<sup>1</sup> at *Milford*, all thoſe bandes  
 He brought from *Ireland*: taking thence his courſe  
 To *Conway*<sup>2</sup> (all diſguiſ’d) with fourteene more,  
 To th’Earle of *Salisbury*, thither ſent before:

<sup>1</sup> Edward D. of Aumerle Sonne to the D. of Yorke (in ‘The Duke of Aumarle’).

<sup>2</sup> Conway Caſtle in Wales.

## 106

Thinking, the Earle<sup>1</sup> had rayf'd some Armie there ;  
 Whom there he findes forfaken all alone :  
 The forces, in those parts which leuied were,  
 Were closely shrunke away, disperft and gone.  
 The king had stayd too long ; and they, in feare,  
 Resolued euerie man to shift for one.  
 At this amaf'd, fuch fortune he laments ;  
 Forefees his fall, whereto each thing confents.

## 107

In this difturb'd tumultuous broken State,  
 Whil'ft yet th'euent flood doubtfull what should bee ;  
 Whilft nought but headlong running to debate,  
 And glittering troupes and armor, men might fee :  
 Furie, and feare, compaffion, wrath, and hate,  
 Confuf'd through all the land, no corner free ;  
 The ftrong, all mad, to strife, to ruine bent ;  
 The weaker waild : the aged they lament,

## 108

And blame their many yeeres that liue fo long,  
 To fee the horror of thefe miferies.  
 Why had not we (faid they) di'd with the ftrong,  
 In forraine fieldes, in honourable wife,  
 In iuft exployts, and noble without wrong,  
 And by the valiant hand of enemies ?  
 And not thus now referued, in our age,  
 To home-confufion, and difordered rage.

<sup>1</sup> Montague E. of Salifburie.

St. 106, l. 4, 'B'ing' <sup>1</sup>. St. 108, l. 5, 'lawfull' <sup>1</sup>.

## 109

Vnto the Temples flocke the weake, deuout,  
Sad wayling Women; there to vow and pray  
For husbands, brothers, or their sonnes gone out  
To blood-shed : whom nor teares, nor loue could stay.  
Here, graue religious Fathers (which much doubt  
The sad euent these broyles procure them may)  
As Prophets warne, exclaime, disswade these crimes,  
By the examples fresh of other times.

## 110

And (ô!) what, do you now prepare, said they,  
Another Conquest, by these fatall wayes ?  
What, must your owne hands make your selues a pray  
To desolation, which these tumults rayse ?  
What *Dane*, what *Norman*, shall prepare his way  
To triumph on the spoyle of your decayes ?  
That, which nor *Fraunce*, nor all the world, could do  
In vnion, shall your discord bring you to ?

## 111

Conspire against vs, neighbour nations all,  
That enuie at the height whereto w'are growne :  
Coniure the barbarous North, and let them call  
Strange furie from farre distant shores vnknowne ;  
And let them altogether on vs fall,  
So to diuert the ruine of our owne :  
That we, forgetting what doth so incense,  
May turne the hand of malice, to defence.

## 112

Calme these tempeftuous fpirits, O mighty Lord ;  
 This threatning ftorme that ouer-hangs the Land.  
 Make them confider, ere they 'vnheath the fword,  
 How vaine is th'earth, this point whereon they ftand ;  
 And with what fad calamities is ftor'd  
 The beft of that, for which th'Ambitious band :  
 " Labor the ende of labor, ftife of ftife ;  
 " Terror in death, and horreur after life.

## 113

Thus they in zeale, whose humbled thoughts were  
 Whil'ft in this wide-ftread volume of the fkyes, [good,  
 The booke of Prouidence difclofed flood ;  
 Warnings of wrath, foregoing miferies  
 In lines of fire and characters of blood,  
 Their fearefull formes in dreadfull flames arife ;  
 Amazing Comets, threatning Monarchs might,  
 And new-feene Starres, vnknowne vnto the night.

## 114

Red fierie Dragons in the ayre do flye,  
 And burning Meteors, pointed-ftreaming lightes :  
 Bright Starres in midft of day appeare in fkie,  
 Prodigious monfters, ghafly fearefull fights :  
 Strange Ghoftes, and apparitions terrifie :  
 The wofull mother her owne birth affrightes ;  
 Seeing a wrong deformed infant borne,  
 Grieues in her paines, deceiv'd in flame doth mourne.

St. 113, l. 6, 'Their' for 'There.'

## 115

The earth, as if afeard of blood and wounds,  
Trembles in terrour of these falling bloes :  
The hollow concaues giue out groning founds,  
And sighing murmures, to lament our woes :  
The Ocean, all at discord with his boundes,  
Reiterates his strange vntimely flowes :  
Nature all out of course, to checke our course,  
Neglects her worke, to worke in vs remorse.

## 116

So great a wracke vnto it selfe doth, lo,  
Disorder'd proud mortalitie prepare,  
That this whole frame doth euen labour fo  
Her ruine vnto frailty to declare :  
And trauailes to fore-signifie the wo  
That weake improuidence could not beware.  
" For heauen and earth, and ayre and seas and all,  
" Taught men to see, but not to shun their fall.

## 117

Is man so deare vnto the heauens, that they  
Respect the wayes of earth, the workes of finne ?  
Doth this great All, this *Vniuersall*, weigh  
The vaine designs that weakenesse doth begin ?  
Or doth our *feare*, father of zeale, giue way  
Vnto this errour ignorance liues in ?

St. 116, l. 2, 'Disordered mortality' <sup>1</sup>. St. 117, l. 5, 'doe' <sup>1</sup>.  
After st. 117 (= 121) in <sup>2</sup> (1601, 1602) comes the following :—

## 122.

' Or do the conscience of our wicked deedes  
Apply to sinne the terror of these fightes,  
Hapning at the instant when commotion breedes,  
Amazing only timorous vulgar wights ;

And deeme our faults the cause that moue these powres,  
That haue their cause from other cause then ours ?

## 118

But, these beginnings had this impious Warre,  
Th'vngodly blood-shed that did so defile  
The beautie of thy fields, and euen did marre  
The flowre of thy chiefe pride, thou fairest Ile :  
These were the causes that incenst so farre  
The ciuill wounding hand inrag'd with spoyle ;  
That now the liuing, with afflicted eye,  
Looke backe with grieve on such calamitie.

Who euer aggrauating that which feedes  
Their feares, still finde out matter that affrightes  
Whilst th'impious fierce, neglecting feele no touch,  
And waigh too light what others feare so much.'

Following st. 117 is the following :—

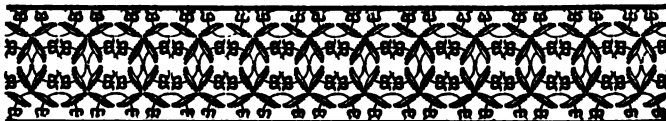
' Ah no, th'eternall powre that guides this frame  
And serues him with the instruments of heauen,  
To call the earth and summon vp our shame,  
By an edict from euerlasting giuen ;  
Forbids mortality to search the same ;  
Where sence is blind, and wit of act bereauen,  
Terror must be our knowledge, feare our skill,  
T'admire his worke and tremble at his will.'

(In 'l. 1, 'No, no.')

St. 118, l. 1, 'And', &c.

*The end of the first Booke.*





## THE SECOND BOOKE.

### THE ARGUMENT.

*King Richard mones his wrong, and wails his raigne :  
And here betrayd, to London he is led,  
Basely-attyr'd, attending Herfords traine :  
Where th'one is scornd, the other VVelcomed.  
His Wife, mistaking him, doth much complaine ;  
And both together greatly sorrowed :  
In hope to saue his life and ease his thrall,  
He yeelds vp state, and Rule, and Crowne, and all.*



I

N dearth of faith, and scarcitie of  
friendes,  
The late great mighty Monarch, on  
the shore  
In th'vtmost corner of his Land,  
attendes  
To call backe false obedience, fled  
before ;

Toyles, and in vaine his toyle, and labour spendes :  
More harts he fought to gaine, he lost the more :

' ' The Argvment of the Second Booke ' '.

St. 1, l. 5,, removed after ,and' and 'vaine.'

All turn'd their faces to the rising funne,  
And leaue his setting-fortune, night begunne.

## 2

*Percy*,<sup>1</sup> how soone, by thy example led,  
The household traine forsooke their wretched Lord !  
When, with thy staffe of charge dishonoured,  
Thou brak'st thy fayth, not steward of thy word,  
And tookst his part that after tooke thy head ;  
When thine owne hand had strengthned first his sword.  
“ For, such great merits do vpbraide, and call  
“ For great reward, or thinke the great too smal.

## 3

And Kings loue not to be beholding ought :  
Which makes their chiefeest friends oft speed the worst.  
For, those, by whom their fortunes haue bin wrought,  
Put them in minde of what they were at first.  
Whose doubtfull faith if once in question brought,  
Tis thought they will offend because they durst :  
And taken in a fault are neuer spar'd ;  
“ Being easier to reuenge, then to reward.

## 4

And thus these mightie actors, sonnes of change,  
These partizanes of factions, often tri'd ;  
That, in the smoake of Innouations strange,  
Builde huge vncertaine plots of vn Timer pride :  
And, on the hazard of a bad exchange,  
Haue ventur'd all the stocke of life beside ;  
“ Whilst Princes, rais'd, disdain to haue bin rais'd  
“ By those whose helpes deserue not to be prais'd.

<sup>1</sup> This Percie was Earle of Worcester, brother to the Earle of Northumberland, and steward of the Kings house.

St. 2, l. 2, 'O' 1.

## 5

But thus is *Richard* left, and all alone  
 Saue with th'vnarmed title of his right ;  
 And those braue troupes, his fortune-followers gone,  
 And all that pompe (the complements of might)  
 Th'amuzing shadowes that are cast vpon  
 The state of Princes, to beguile the fight,  
 All vanisht cleane, and only frailty left ;  
 Himselfe, of all, besides himselfe, bereft :

## 6

Like when some great *Coloffus*, whose strong bafe  
 Or mightie props are shrunk or funke away,  
 Fore-shewing ruine, threatning all the place  
 That in the danger of his fall doth stay,  
 All straight to better safetie flocke apace ;  
 None rest to helpe the ruine, while they may.  
 " The perill great, and doubtfull the redresse,  
 " Men are content to leaue Right in distresse.

## 7

And looke, how *Thames*, inricht with many a Flood,  
 And goodly Riuers (that haue made their Graues,  
 And buried both their names and all their good  
 Within his greatnes, to augment his waues)  
 Glides on, with pompe of Waters, vnwithstood,  
 Vnto the *Ocean* (which his tribute craues)  
 And layes vp all his wealth, within that powre,  
 Which in it selfe all greatnes doth deuowre :

St. 5, l. 1, 'O Maieftie left naked' 1; 'Now . . . forsaken' 2: l. 2,  
 'But . . . thy' 1, 2: l. 3, 'Those gallant . . . thy' 1; 'Sauf . . .  
 thy' 2: l. 6, 'cares' 1, 2: l. 7, 'Are' 1: l. 8, 'Thy selfe' (*his*) 1.

St. 7, l. 1, 'As stately Thames' 1, 2.

## 8

So flocke the mighty, with their following traine,  
 Vnto the all-receiuing *Bullingbrooke*<sup>1</sup> :  
 Who wonders at himfelfe, how hee should gaine  
 So many harts as now his partie tooke ;  
 And with what ease, and with how slender paine,  
 His fortune giues him more then he could looke :  
 What he imagin'd neuer could be wrought  
 Is powrd vpon him, farre beyond his thought.

## 9

So, often, things which seeme at first in shewe,  
 Without the compasse of accomplishment,  
 Once vent'red on, to that successe do growe,  
 That euen the Authors do admire th'euent ;  
 So many meanes which they did neuer knowe  
 Do second their designes, and do present  
 Straunge vnexpected helps, and chiefly then  
 When th'Actors are reputed worthy men.

## 10

And *Richard*, who lookt Fortune in the backe,  
 Sees headlong-lightnes running from the right,  
 Amazed standes to note how great a wracke  
 Of faith, his riots cauf'd, what mortall spight  
 They beare him, who did law and iustice lacke ;  
 Sees how concealed hate breakes out in fight,  
 And feare-depressed enuie (pent before)  
 When fit occasion thus vnlockt the dore.

<sup>1</sup> The D. of Yorke, left Gouvernour of the Realm in the absence of the king, hauing leui'd a great Army, as if to haue opposed against Bullingbrooke, brought most of the Nobilitie of the kingdome to take his part.

## 11

Like when some mastiue whelpe, dispos'd to play,  
 A whole confus'd heard of beastes doth chace,  
 Which with one vile consent run all away ;  
 If any hardier then the rest in place  
 But offer head, that idle feare to stay,  
 Backe straight the daunted chafer turnes his face,  
 And all the rest (with bold example led)  
 As fast run on him, as before they fled :

## 12

So, with this bold oppofer, rushes-on  
 This many-headed monster, *Multitude* :  
 And he, who late was feard, is set vpon,  
 And by his owne (*Aëleon*-like) pursu'd ;  
 His owne, that had all loue and awe forgone :  
 Whom breath and shadowes onely did delude,  
 And newer hopes, which promises perswade ;  
 Though rarely men keepe promises so made.

## 13

Which when he saw ; thus to himselfe complaines :  
 " O why do you, fond, false-deceiued, so  
 " Run headlong to that change that nothing gaines,  
 " But gaine of sorrow, onely change of wo ?  
 " Which is all one, if he be like who raignes :  
 " Why will you buy, with blood, what you forgoe ?  
 " 'Tis nought, but shewes, that Ignorance esteemes :  
 " The thing possesse is not the thing it seemes.

St. 12, l. 8, 'rare performed' <sup>1</sup> : \* as our text.

St. 13, l. 1, 'seeing this' <sup>1</sup>, \*.

## 14

" And when the finnes of *Bullingbrooke* shall be  
" As great as mine, and you vnanswered  
" In these your hopes ; then may you wish for me  
" Your lawfull Sov'raigne, from whose faith you fled ;  
" And, grieved in your soules, the error see  
" That shining promises had shadowed :  
" As th'humorous ficke, removing, finde no ease,  
" When changed Chambers change not the disease.

## 15

" Then shall you finde this name of Libertie  
" (The watch-word of Rebellion euer vs'd ;  
" The idle eccho of Vncertaintie,  
" That euermore the simple hath abus'd)  
" But new-turnd Seruitude and Miserie ;  
" And euen the same and worse, before refus'd.  
" Th'aspirer once attaind vnto the top,  
" Cuts off those meanes by which himselfe got vp.

## 16

" And with a harder hand, and streighter raine,  
" Doth curbe that loosenes he did finde before ;  
" Doubting th'occasion like might serue againe,  
" His owne example makes him feare the more.  
" Then, ô iniurious Land, what dost thou gaine  
" To aggrauate thine owne afflictions store ?  
" Since thou must needs obey Kings gouernement ;  
" And no rule, euer yet, could all content.

## 17

" What if my youth hath offered vp to lust  
 " Licentious fruites of indiscreet defires,  
 " When idle heate of vainer yeeres did thrust  
 " That furie on : yet now when it retires  
 " To calmer state, why should you so distrust  
 " To reape that good whereto mine age aspires ?  
 " The youth of Princes haue no boundes for finne,  
 " Vnlesse themselues do make them boundes within.

## 18

" Who sees not, that sees ought (wo worth the while)  
 " The easie way, that Greatnesse hath to fall ?  
 " Enuiron'd with deceit, hemm'd-in with guile,  
 " Sooth'd vp in flatterie, fawned on of all :  
 " Within his owne, liuing as in exile ;  
 " Heares but with others eares, or not at all :  
 " And euen is made a prey vnto a fewe,  
 " Who locke vp grace that would to other shewe :

## 19

" And who (as let in leafe) do farme the Crowne,  
 " And ioy the vse of Maiestie and might ;  
 " Whil't we hold but the shadow of our owne,  
 " Pleas'd with vaine shewes, and dallied with delight :  
 " They, as huge vnproportion'd mountaines, growne  
 " Betweene our land and vs, shadowing our light,  
 " Bereaue the rest of ioy, and vs of loue,  
 " And keepe downe all, to keepe themselues aboue.

St. 17, 'O'.

St. 18, l. 7, 'Euen made'.

## 20

" Which wounds, with griefe, poore vnrespected zeale,  
 " When grace holdes no proportion in the parts ;  
 " When distriution, in the Common-weale,  
 " Of charge and honour due to good defarts  
 " Is stopt ; when others greedie hands must deale  
 " The benefite that Maiestie imparts :  
 " What good we meant, comes gleaned home but light,  
 " Whilst we are robd of prayse, they of their right.

## 21

Thus he complaind ; when, lo, from *Lancaster*  
 (The new intit'led Duke) with order sent  
 Arriv'd *Northumberland*,<sup>1</sup> as to conferre  
 And make relation of the Dukes intent :  
 And offred there, if that he would referre  
 The controuerfie vnto Parlement,  
 And punish those that had abus'd the State,  
 As causers of this vniuerfall hate ;

<sup>1</sup> The E. of Northumberland sent to the king from Hen. Bullingbrooke now D. of Lancaster.

After st. 20 the following :—

' O hence I see, and to my griefe I see,  
 Th' vnreconcilable disunion,  
 Is growne between an aggruied realme and mee,  
 And by their fault, whose faith I trusted on :  
 My owne nature, tractable and free,  
 Soone drawne to what my counsel would haue done,  
 Is thus betraid by them and my neglect,  
 Easiest deceiud where least I did suspect.'

(l. 3, misprinted 'aggraued' : in <sup>2</sup>, l. 1, 'Hence, hence.')



## 22

And also see that Iustice might be had  
 On those the Duke of *Glosters* death procur'd,  
 And such remov'd from Councell as were bad ;  
 His coffin *Henry* would, he there assur'd,  
 On humble knees before his Grace be glad  
 To aske him pardon, to be well secur'd,  
 And haue his right and grace resto'rd againe :  
 The which was all he labour'd to obtaine.

## 23

And therefore doth an enterparle exhort,  
 Perfwades him leaue that vnbe seeming place,  
 And with a princely hardinesse resort  
 Vnto his people, that attend his Grace :  
 They meant his publique good, and not his hurt ;  
 And would most ioyfull be to see his face :  
 He layes his soule to pledge, and takes his Oath,  
 The oft of Christ, an ostage for his troth.

## 24

This proffer, with such protestations, made  
 Vnto a King that so neere danger stood,  
 Was a sufficient motiue to perfwade,  
 When no way else could shew a face so good :  
 Th'vnhonourable meanes of safety, bade  
 Danger accept, what Maieesty withstood.  
 " When better choyfes are not to be had,  
 " We needes must take the seeming best of bad.

## 25

Yet standes he in doubt, a while, what way to take ;  
 Conferring with that small remaining troope  
 Fortune had left ; which neuer would forsake  
 Their poore distressed Lord, nor neuer stoope  
 To any hopes the stronger part could make.  
 Good *Carlile*,<sup>1</sup> *Ferby*, and Sir *Stephen Scroope*,  
 With that most worthy *Montague*,<sup>1</sup> were all  
 That were content with *Maiefty* to fall.

## 26

Time spare, and make not sacrilegious theft  
 Vpon so memorable constancie :  
 Let not succeeding Ages be bereft  
 Of such examples of integritie :  
 Nor thou magnanimous *Leigh* <sup>2</sup> must not be left  
 In darknesse, for thy rare fidelitie ;  
 To faue thy faith, content to lose thy head ;  
 That reuerent head, of good men honoured.

## 27

Nor will my Conscience I should iniury  
 Thy memorie most trusty *Ienico*,<sup>3</sup>  
 For b'ing not ours ; though with that *Gasconie*  
 Claym'd not, for hers, the faith we reuerence so ;

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Carlile. Montague Earle of Salisbury.

<sup>2</sup> This was sir Peter Leighs Auncif[er]tor of Lime in Cheshire that now is.

<sup>3</sup> Ienico d'Artois a Gascoin.

St. 25, l. 2, 'And doth confer'': l. 3, 'That fortune'':

St. 26, l. 1, 'O Time commit'': l. 2, 'Vpon the holy faith of these good men'': l. 4, '... worthy of our Pen'': l. 5, 'shalt'': l. 6, 'constant honor then'': l. 7, 'That thou to ... wouldst'': l. 8, '... that all men pittied'':

St. 27, l. 1, 'Nor Conscience would that I'': l. 2, 'O Ienico thy memory so deere'': l. 4, '... we hold so deere'':

That *England* might haue this small companie  
 Onely to her alone, hauing no moe :  
 But le'ts diuide this good betwixt vs both,  
 Take she thy birth, and we will haue thy troth.

## 28

" Graue *Montague*, whom long experience taught  
 " In either fortune, thus aduif'd his King :<sup>1</sup>  
 " *Deare Sou'raigne* know, the matter that is fought,  
 " Is onely now your Maiefty to bring  
 " (From out of this poore safetie you haue got)  
 " Into theyr hands, that else hold euery thing :  
 " For, now, but onely you they want, of all ;  
 " And wanting you, they nothing theirs can call.

## 29

" Here haue you craggie Rocks to take your part ;  
 " That neuer will betray their faith to you :  
 " These trusty Mountaines here will neuer start,  
 " But stand t'vpbraid their shame that are vntrue.  
 " Here may you fence your safetie with small art,  
 " Against the pride of that confused Crew :  
 " If men will not, these verie Cliffes will fight,  
 " And be sufficient to defend your right.

## 30

" Then keepe you here, and here shall you behold,  
 " Within short space, the flyding faith of those  
 " That cannot long their resolution hold,  
 " Repent the course their idle rashnesse chose :

<sup>1</sup> The Earle of Salisbury his speech to K. Richard.

St. 27, l. 6, 'Wholly her owne, and shee no partner heere' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 29, l. 4, 'obraid' <sup>1</sup>.

" For, that same mercenarie faith (they sold)  
" With leaft occasions discontented growes,  
" And insolent those voluntarie bands ;  
" Prefuming how, by them, he chiefly stands.

## 31

" And how can he those mightie troupes sustaine  
" Long time, where now he is, or any where ?  
" Besides, what discipline can he retaine  
" Whereas he dares not keepe them vnder feare,  
" For feare to haue them to reuolt againe ?  
" So that it selfe when Greatnesse cannot beare,  
" With her owne waight, must needes confus'dly fall,  
" Without the helpe of other force at all.

## 32

" And hither to approche hee will not dare ;  
" Where deserts, rockes, and hilles, no succours giue ;  
" Where desolation, and no comforts are ;  
" Where few can do no good, many not liue.  
" Besides, we haue the *Ocean* to prepare  
" Some other place, if this should not relieue :  
" So shall you tire his force, consume his strength,  
" And weary all his followers, out, at length.

## 33

" Doe but referre to time, and to small time ;  
" And infinite occasions you shall finde  
" To quaille the Rebell, euen in the prime  
" Of all his hopes, beyond all thought of minde :  
" For, many (with the conscience of the crime)  
" In colder blood will curse what they desig'n'd :

" And bad successe, vpbrayding their ill fact,  
 " Drawes them, whom others draw, from such an act.

## 34

" For, if the least imagin'd ouerture  
 " But of conceiv'd reuolt men once espie ;  
 " Straight shrinke the weake, the great will not indure,  
 " Th'impatient run, the discontented flie :  
 " The friend his friends example doth procure,  
 " And all together haste them presently  
 " Some to their home, some hide : others, that stay,  
 " To reconcile themselues, the rest betray.

## 35

" What hope haue you, that euer *Bullingbrooke*  
 " Will liue a Subiect, that hath tri'd his fate ?  
 " Or what good reconcilment can you looke,  
 " Where he must alwayes feare, and you must hate ?  
 " And neuer thinke that he this quarrell tooke  
 " To reobtaine thereby his priuate state.  
 " T'was greater hopes, that hereto did him call :  
 " And he will thrust for all, or else lose all.

## 36

" Nor trust this futtle *Agent*, nor his oth.  
 " You knowe his faith : you tri'd it before hand.  
 " His fault is death : and now to lose his troth,  
 " To saue his life, he will not greatly stand.  
 " Nor trust your kinsmans proffer ; since you, both  
 " Shew, blood in Princes is no stedfast band.  
 " What though he hath no title ? he hath might :  
 " That makes a title, where there is no right.

## 37

Thus he : when that good Bishop<sup>1</sup> thus replies,  
Out of a minde that quiet did affect :  
“ My Lord, I must confesse, as your case lies,  
“ You haue great cause your Subiects to suspect,  
“ And counterplot against their subtelties,  
“ Who all good care and honestie neglect ;  
“ And feare the worst what insolence may do,  
“ Or armed fury may incense them to.

## 38

“ But yet, my Lord, feare may aswell transport  
“ Your care, beyond the truth of what is meant ;  
“ As otherwise neglect may fall too short,  
“ In not examining of their intent :  
“ But, let vs weigh the thing which they exhort.  
“ Tis Peace, Submission, and a Parlement :  
“ Which, how expedient 'tis for either part,  
“ Twere good we iudg'd with an vnpartiall hart.

## 39

“ And first, for you my Lord, in grieve we see  
“ The miserable case wherein you stand ;  
“ Voyde here of succour, helpe, or maiestie,  
“ On this poore promontorie of your Land :  
“ And where how long a time your Grace may be  
“ (Expecting what may fall into your hand)  
“ Wee know not ; since th'euent of things do lie  
“ Clof'd vp in darkenes, farre from mortall eye.

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Carlile.

## 40

" And how vnfit it were, you should protract  
" Long time, in this so dangerous disgrace ?  
" As though that you good spirit and courage lackt  
" To issue out of this opprobrious place :  
" When euen the face of Kings do oft exact  
" Feare and remorfe in faultie subiects base ;  
" And longer stay a great presumption drawes  
" That you were guilty, or did doubt your cause.

## 41

" What Subiects euer so inrag'd would dare  
" To violate a Prince, t'offend the blood  
" Of that renowned race, by which they are  
" Exalted to the height of all their good ?  
" What if some things by chaunce misguides were,  
" Which they haue now rebelliously withstood ?  
" They neuer will proceed with that despight  
" To wracke the State, and to confound the right,

## 42

" Nor doe I think that *Bullingbrooke* can bee  
" So blind-ambitious, to affect the Crowne ;  
" Hauing himselfe no title, and doth see  
" Others, if you should fayle, must keepe him downe.  
" Besides, the Realme, though mad, will neuer gree  
" To haue a right succession ouerthrowne ;  
" To rayse confusion vpon them and theirs,  
" By preiudicing true and lawfull heires.

## 43

" And now it may be, fearing the successe  
 ' Of his attemptes, or with remorse of minde,  
 " Or else distrusting secret practises,  
 " He would be glad his quarrell were resign'd ;  
 " So that there were some orderly redresse  
 " In those disorders which the Realme did finde :  
 " And this, I thinke, he now sees were his best ;  
 " Since farther actions further but vnrest.

## 44

" And, for th'impossibilitie of peace  
 " And reconciliation, which my Lord objects ;  
 " I thinke, when doing iniurie shall cease  
 " (The cause pretended) then surcease th'effects :  
 " Time and some other Actions may increase  
 " As may diuert the thought of these respects ;  
 " Others law of forgetting iniuries<sup>1</sup>  
 " May serue our turne in like calamities.

## 45

" And for his oath, in conscience, and in sense,  
 " True honour would not so be found vntrue,  
 " Nor spot his blood with such a foule offence  
 " Against his foule, against his God, and you.  
 " Our Lord forbid, that ever with th'expence  
 " Of heauen and heauenly ioyes, that shall infue,  
 " Mortalitie should buy this little breath,  
 " T'indure the horror of eternall death.

St. 44, l. 3, spelled 'doying' in original.

<sup>1</sup> *Lex Amnestie.*



## 46

“ And therefore, as I thinke, you safely may  
“ Accept this proffer ; that determine shall  
“ All doubtfull courtes by a quiet way,  
“ Needfull for you, fit for them, good for all.  
“ And here, my Sov’raigne, to make longer stay  
“ T’attend for what you are vnſure will fall,  
“ May flippe th’occaſion, and incenſe their will :  
“ For, Feare, that’s wiſer then the truth, doth ill.

## 47

Thus he perſwades, out of a zealous minde ;  
Suppoſing, men had ſpoken as they ment :  
And, vnto this, the King likewiſe inclin’d :  
As wholly vnto peace, and quiet bent :  
And yeeldes himſelfe to th’Earle, goes, leaues-behind  
His ſafetie, Scepter, Honor, Gouvernement :  
For, gone, all’s gone : he is no more his owne ;  
And they rid quite of feare, he of the Crowne.

## 48

A place there is, where proudly raiſ’d there ſtands  
A huge aſpiring Rock, neighb’ring the Skies ;  
Whoſe furly brow imperiouſly commaunds  
The Sea his boundes, that at his proud feete lies :  
And ſpurnes the waues, that in rebellious bands  
Affault his Empire, and againſt him riſe :  
Vnder whoſe craggy gouernment, there was  
A niggard narrow way for men to paſſe.

## 49

And here, in hidden cliffes, concealed lay  
 A troope of armed men, to intercept  
 The vnſuſpecting King, that had no way  
 To free his foote, that into danger ſtept.  
 The dreadfull *Ocean*, on the one ſide, lay :  
 The hard-incroching Mountaine th'other kept :  
 Before him, he beheld his hateful foes :  
 Behind him, trayterous enemies incloſe.

## 50

Enuiron'd thus, the Earle begins to cheere  
 His al-amafed Lord, by him betrayde ;  
 Bids him take courage, ther's no cauſe of feare,  
 Theſe troopes, but there to guard him ſafe, were layd.  
 To whom the King ; What neede ſo many here ?  
 This is againſt your oath, my Lord, he ſaid.  
 But, now hee ſees in what diſtreſſe he ſtood :  
 To ſtriue, was vaine ; t'intreat, would do no good.

## 51

And therefore on with careful hart he goes ;  
 Complaines (but, to himſelfe) ſighes, grieues, and freats ;  
 At *Rutland* dines, though feedes but on his woes :  
 The grieve of minde hindred the minde of meats.  
 For, ſorrow, ſhame, and feare, ſcorne of his foes,  
 The thought of what he was, and what now threats,  
 Then what he ſhould, and now what he hath done,  
 Muſters confuſed paſſions all in one.

## 52

To *Flint*, from thence, vnto a restles bed,  
 That miserable night, he comes conuayd ;  
 Poorely prouided, poorely followed,  
 Vncourted, vnrespected, vnobayd :  
 Where, if vncertaine sleepe but hooouered  
 Ouer the drooping cares that heauy weigh'd ;  
 Millions of figures, fantasie presents  
 Vnto that forrow, wakened grieve augments.

## 53

His new misfortune makes deluding sleepe  
 Say 'twas not so (False dreames the trueth denie).  
 Wherewith he starts ; feels waking cares do creepe  
 Vpon his soule, and giues his dreame the lie ;  
 Then sleepes againe : and then againe, as deepe  
 Deceites of darknes mocke his miserie.  
 So hard believ'd was sorrow in her youth :  
 That he thinks truth was dreams, & dreams were truth.

## 54

The morning light presents vnto his view  
 (Walking vpon a turret of the place)  
 The trueth of what hee sees is prov'd too true ;  
 A hundred thousand men, before his face,  
 Came marching on the shore, which thither drew :  
 And, more to aggrauate his great disgrace,  
 Those he had wronged, or done to them despight,  
 (As if they him vpbrayd) came first in fight.

St. 54. l. 8, 'obrayd'.

## 55

There might hee see that false forsworne vile crue,  
 Those shameles agents of vnlawfull lust,  
 His *Pandars*, *Parasites* (people vntrue  
 To God and man, vnworthy any trust)  
 Preacing vnto that fortune that was new,  
 And with vnblushing faces formost thrust ;  
 As those that still with prosperous fortune fort,  
 And are as borne for Corte, or made in Cort.

## 56

There hee beheld, how humbly diligent  
 New Adulation was to be at hand ;  
 How ready Falsehood stept ; how nimbly went  
 Base pick-thank Flattery, and preuents Command :  
 Hee saw the great obay, the graue consent,  
 And all with this new-rayf'd Aspirer stand ;  
 But, which was worst, his owne part acted there,  
 Not by himselfe ; his powre, not his, appeare.

## 57

Which whilst he view'd, the Duke he might perceiue  
 Make towards the Castle, to an interview.

St. 55, ll. 7, 8—' . . . liue in sunshine of delights,  
 And flie the winter when affliction lights '¹.

St. 56, ll. 7, 8—' Which when he saw and in his sorrow waid,  
 Thus out of grieve vnto himselfe he said '¹.

St. 57— ' More grieve had said : when lo the Duke he saw  
 Entering the *Castle*, come to parle there ;  
 Which makes him presently from thence withdraw,  
 Into a surer place some other where :  
 His fortune now infort his yeelding awe  
 To meete him, who before in humble feare  
 Would haue beene glad t'haue staid, and to prepare  
 The grace of audience, with attendant care '¹.

So ².

Wherefore he did his contemplation leaue,  
 And downe into some fitter place withdrew ;  
 Where now he must admitte, without his leaue,  
 Him, who before with all submission due  
 Would haue beene glad, t'attend, and to prepare  
 The grace of audience, with respectiue care.

## 58

Who now being come in prefence of his king  
 (Whether the sight of Maiestie did breed  
 Remorse of what he was incompassing,  
 Or whether but to formalize his deed)  
 He kneeles him downe with some astonishing,  
 Rose ; kneeles againe : (for, craft wil still exceed)  
 When-as the king approach't, put off his Hood,  
 And welcomd him, though wisht him little good.

St. 58, l. 1, 'The Duke when '1,': l. 3, '... wrong which reuerence  
 did bring '1: l. 5, '... euen at his entering '1.

St. 58—61 in '1:—

58.

O faithlesse *Cogen*, here behold I stand  
 Spectator of that act my selfe haue plaid,  
 That act of rule which now vpon thy hand  
 This wauering mutability hath laid :  
 But *Cogen*, know the faith of this false land  
 Stands sworne to me ; that faith they haue betraid  
 Is mine, tis mine the rule ; thou dost me wrong  
 T'vsurpe the gouernment I held so long.

59.

And when thou hast but tride what I haue found,  
 Thou maist repent t' haue bought cōmand so deare,  
 When thou shalt find on what vnquiet ground  
 Greatnes doth stand, that stands so high in feare :  
 Where infinite occasions do confound  
 The peace of minde, the good thou lookst for here :  
 O fatall is th'ascent vnto a crowne !  
 From whence men come not downe, but must fall downe.

## 59

" To whom, the Duke began : My Lord, I knowe  
 " That both vncall'd, and vnexpected too,  
 " I haue presumed in this sort to shoue  
 " And seeke the right which I am borne vnto :  
 " Yet pardon I beseech you, and allow  
 " Of that constraint, which driues me thus to doo.  
 " For, since I could not by a fairer course  
 " Attaine mine owne, I must vse this of force.

## 60.

O you that cherish fat iniquity,  
 Inriching sinne, with store, and vice with gaine,  
 By my disgrace, see what you get thereby  
 To raise the bad, to make the good complaine :  
 Those vipers spoile the wombe wherein they lie,  
 And haue but impudence or grace to gaine,  
 But bodies and bold browes ; no mindes within,  
 But mind of ill, that knowes but how to sin.

## 61.

And for the good which now do take thy part,  
 Thou must reioyce ; for th'others I am glad  
 To thinke they may in time likewise subuert  
 The expectation which of thee men had :  
 When thou shalt find how difficult an art  
 It is to rule and please the good and bad :  
 And feele the griuance of this fatall sort,  
 Which still are borne for court are made in court.

So <sup>2</sup>, with trivial variants of spelling, etc.

St. 59, l. 2, 'vnlookt for aid, vnsent vnto' <sup>1</sup>: l. 3, ' . . . come hither now' <sup>1</sup>: ll. 4-8—

' But this your wrong and rigor draue me to,  
 And being come I purpose now to shew  
 You better how to rule, and what to doe :  
 You haue had time too much to worke our ill,  
 But now redresse or plained in our will' <sup>1</sup>.

## 60

" Well : fo it seemes, deare Cofin, faid the King ;  
 " Though you might haue procur'd it otherwise :  
 " And I am here content, in euery thing  
 " To right you, as your felfe fhall beft deuife :  
 " And God voutfaze, the force that here you bring  
 " Beget not *England* greater iniuries.  
 And fo they part : the Duke made hafte from thence :  
 It was no place to ende this difference.

## 61

Straight towards *London*, in this heate of pride,  
 They forward fet ; as they had fore-decreed :  
 With whom, the *Captiue King* constraind muft ride,  
 Moft meanelly mounted on a fimple Steed :  
 Degraded of all grace and eafe befide,  
 Thereby neglect of all refpect to breed.  
 For, th'ouer-fpredding pompe of prouder might  
 Muft darken vweaknes, and debase his fight.

## 62

Approaching neere the Cittie, hee was met  
 With all the fumptuous fhewes ioy could deuife :  
 Where new-defire to pleafe did not forget  
 To paffe the vfuall pompe of former guife.

St. 60, l. 1, ' As you fhall pleafe deare cofin ' 1, 2, ' You haue me  
 in your powre, I am content ' 1 : ll. 3, 4—

' And I am pleafd, if my difgrace may bring  
 Good to my countrey which I euer ment ' 1 :

ll. 5, 6—' But yet God grant your courfe held in this thing  
 Caufe not fucceeding ages to repent ' 1 :

ll. 7, 8—' And fo they left : the Duke had lief to go,  
 It was no place to end the matter fo ' 1.

St. 61, l. 2, ' The Duke fets forward as they had decreed ' 1.

Striuing Applause, as out of prison let,  
 Runnes-on, beyond all bounds, to nouelties :  
 And voyce, and hands, and knees, and all do now  
 A strange deformed forme of welcome shewe.

## 63

And manifold Confusion running greetes,  
 Shoutes, cries, claps hands, thrusts, striues and presses  
 Houses improv'isht were, t'inrich the streetes, [neere :  
 And streetes left naked, that (vnhappie) were  
 Plac't from the fight where Joy with Wonder meetes ;  
 Where all, of all degrees, striue to appeare ;  
 Where diuers-speaking Zeale one murmure findes,  
 In vndistinguisht voyce to tell their mindes.

## 64

He that in glorie of his fortune fate,  
 Admiring what hee thought could neuer be,  
 Did feele his blood within salute his state,  
 And lift vp his reioycing soule, to see  
 So many hands and hearts congratulate  
 Th'aduancement of his long-defir'd degree ;  
 When, prodigall of thankes, in passing by,  
 He refalutes them all, with chearefull eye.

## 65

Behind him, all aloofe, came penfue on  
 The vnregarded King ; that drooping went  
 Alone, and (but for spight) scarce lookt vpon :  
 Iudge, if hee did more enuie, or lament.

St. 62, l. 5, cap. A substituted for 'a' ; and so in after impersonations.  
 St. 63, l. 2, 'Shootes' !.



See what a wondrous worke this day is done ;  
Which th'image of both fortunes doth present :  
In th'one, to shew the best of glories face ;  
In th'other, worfe then worst of all disgrace.

## 66

Novv *Isabell*, the young afflicted Queene  
(Whose yeares had neuer shew'd her but delights,  
Nor louely eyes before had euer seene  
Other then smiling ioyes, and ioyfull fights ;  
Borne great, matcht great, liv'd great, and euer beene  
Partaker of the worlds best benefits)  
Had plac't her selfe, hearing her Lord should passe  
That way, where she vnseene in secret was ;

## 68

Sicke of delay, and longing to behold  
Her long-mist Loue in fearefull ieoperdies :  
To whom, although it had, in sort, beene told  
Of their proceeding, and of his surprize ;  
Yet thinking they would neuer be so bold  
To lead their Lord in any shamefull wife,  
But rather would conduct him as their King ;  
As seeking but the States reordering.

## 69

And foorth shee lookes, and notes the formost traine ;  
And grieues to view some there she wisht not there :  
Seeing the chiefe not come, stayes, lookes againe ;  
And yet she sees not him that should appeare :  
Then backe she stands, and then defires as faine  
Againe to looke, to see if hee were neere :

At length a glittering troupe farre off she spies,  
Perceiues the throng, and heares the shouts and cries.

## 70

Lo, yonder now at length he comes, fayth shee :  
Looke, my goode women, where he is in sight :  
Do you not see him ? yonder, that is hee,  
Mounted on that white Courser, all in white,  
There where the thronging troupes of people bee ;  
I know him by his seate, he fits f'vpright :  
Lo, now he bowes : deare Lord, with what sweet grace  
How long, haue I longd to behold that face !

## 71

O what delight my hart takes by mine eye !  
I doubt me, when he comes but something neere,  
I shall fet wide the window : what care I  
Who doth see me, so him I may see cleare ?  
Thus doth false ioy delude her wrongfully  
(Sweete Lady) in the thing she held so deare.  
For, neerer come, she findes she had mistooke ;  
And him she markt, was *Henrie Bullingbrooke*.

## 72

Then *Ennie* takes the place in her sweet eyes,  
Where Sorrow had prepar'd her selfe a seat :  
And words of wrath, from whence complaints should rise,  
Proceed from egre lookes, and browes that threat :  
Traytor, faith shee ; ist thou, that in this wife  
To braue thy Lord and King, art made so great ?  
And haue mine eyes done vnto me this wrong,  
To looke on thee ? for this, staid I so long ?

St. 71, l. 4, ? accepted from <sup>1</sup>.

St. 72, l. 4, 'egar' <sup>1</sup>.

## 73

Ah, haue they grac't a periur'd Rebelle so ?  
 Well ; for their errour I will weepe them out,  
 And hate the tongue defil'd, that prayde my foe,  
 And loath the minde, that gaue me not to doubt :  
 What ? haue I added shame vnto my woe ?  
 Ile looke no more : Ladies, looke you about,  
 And tell me if my Lord be in this traine ;  
 Least my betraying eyes should erre againe.

## 74

And in this passion turnes her selfe away :  
 The rest looke all, and carefull note each wight ;  
 Whil'st she, impatient of the least delay,  
 Demaundes againe ; And what, not yet in sight ?  
 Where is my Lord ? What, gone some other way ?  
 I muse at this. O God, graunt all goe right :  
 Then to the window goes againe at last,  
 And sees the chiefeft traine of all was past ;

## 75

And sees not him her soule desir'd to see :  
 And yet hope, spent, makes her not leaue to looke.  
 At last, her loue-quicke eyes, which ready be,  
 Fastens on one ; whom though she neuer tooke  
 Could be her Lord ; yet that sad cheere which hee  
 Then shew'd, his habit and his wofull looke,  
 The grace he doth in base attire retaine,  
 Cauf'd her she could not from his sight refraine.

St. 73, l. 1, 'O' : l. 5, *ibid.*

## 76

What might he be, she said, that thus alone  
Rides penfiue in this vniuerfall ioy ?  
Some I perceiue, as well as we, do mone :  
All are not pleaf'd with euery thing this day.  
It may be, hee laments the wrong is done  
Vnto my Lord, and grieues ; as well he may.  
Then he is fome of ours : and we, of right,  
Must pittie him, that pitties our sad plight.

## 77

But stay : ist not my Lord himfelfe I fee ?  
In truth, if 'twere not for his base aray,  
I verily should thinke that it were hee ;  
And yet his basenes doth a grace bewray :  
Yet God forbid ; let me deceiued be,  
And be it not my Lord, although it may :  
Let my desire make vowes against desire ;  
And let my fight approue my fight a liar.

## 78

Let me not see him, but himfelfe ; a King :  
For so he left me ; so he did remoue.  
This is not he : this feeles some other thing ;  
A passion of dislike, or else of loue.  
O yes ; 'tis he : that princely face doth bring  
The euidence of Maiestie to prooue :  
That face, I haue conferr'd, which now I see,  
With that within my heart, and they agree.

St. 77, l. 6, 'O' : l. 7, 'And let desire'.

## 79

Thus as she stood assur'd, and yet in doubt ;  
 Wishing to see, what seene she griev'd to see ;  
 Hauing beliefe, yet faine would be without ;  
 Knowing, yet struiuing not to know 'twas hee :  
 Her heart relenting, yet her heart so stout  
 As would not yeeld to thinke what was, could be :  
 Till, quite condemn'd by open prooffe of fight,  
 Shee must confesse ; or else denie the light.

## 80

For, whether loue in him did sympathize,  
 Or chance so wrought, to manifest her doubt ;  
 Euen iust before, where she thus secret pries,  
 He stayes, and with cleare face lookes all about ;  
 When she : Tis, ô, too true ; I know his eyes :  
 Alas, it is my owne deare Lord cries out :  
 And, with that crie, sinks downe vpon the flore :  
 Abundant grieve lackt words to vtter more.

## 81

Sorrow keepes full possession in her heart,  
 Lockes it within, stops vp the way of breath,  
 Shuts senses out of doore from euerie part ;  
 And so long holdes there, as it hazardeth

St. 80, l. 1, 'whether' of ' ', accepted for 'whither' : l. 3, 'prize' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 81, l. 1, 'foule' <sup>1</sup> : l. 2, 'him . . . . . laies vp the key' <sup>1</sup> :

ll. 3-8—' Raignes all alone a *Lord* without controule  
 So long till greater horror threateneth :  
 And euen in danger brought, to loose the whole  
 H' is forst come forth or else to stay with death ;  
 Opens a sigh and lets in fence againe,  
 And fence at length giues words leaue to complaine.'

Oppressed Nature, and is forc't to part,  
 Or else must be constrain'd to stay with death :  
 So, by a sigh, it lets in sence againe ;  
 And sence, at length, giues words leaue to complaine.

## 82

Then, like a torrent had beene stopt before,  
 Teares, sighes, and words, doubled together flowe ;  
 Confus'dly striuing whether should do more,  
 The true intelligence of grieve to shewe.  
 Sighes hindred words : words perisht in their store :  
 Both, intermixt in one, together growe.  
 One would do all : the other, more then's part ;  
 Being both sent equall Agents, from the hart.

## 83

At length, when past the first of sorrowes worst,  
 When calm'd confusion better forme affordes ;  
 Her heart commands, her words should passe out first,  
 And then her sighes should interpoint her words ;  
 The whiles her eyes out into teares should burst :  
 This order with her sorrow she accordes ;  
 Which, orderles, all forme of order brake :  
 So, then began her wordes, and thus she spake ;

## 84

What ? dost thou thus returne againe to mee ?  
 Are these the triumphs, for thy victories ?  
 Is this the glorie thou dost bring with thee,  
 From that unhappie Irish enterprife ?

And haue I made so many vowes to see  
 Thy safe returne, and see thee in this wife ?  
 Is this the lookt-for comfort thou dost bring ?  
 To come a Captiue, that wentst out a King ?

## 85

And yet, deare Lord, though thy vngratefull Land  
 Hath left thee thus ; yet I will take thy part :  
 I doo remaine the same, vnder thy hand ;  
 Thou still dost rule the kingdome of my hart :  
 If all be lost, that gouernment doth stand ;  
 And that shall neuer from thy rule depart :  
 And so thou bee, I care not how thou bee :  
 Let Greatnes goe ; so it goe without thee.

## 86

And welcome come, how-so vnfortunate ;  
 I will applaud what others do despise :  
 I loue thee for thy selfe, not for thy State :  
 More then thy selfe, is what without thee, lies :  
 Let that more goe, if it be in thy fate :  
 And hauing but thy selfe, it will suffice :  
 I married was not to thy Crowne, but thee ;  
 And thou, without a Crowne, all one to mee.

## 87

But what do I, heere lurking idlie, mone  
 And wayle apart, and in a single part  
 Make seuerall grieffe ; which should be both in one ;  
 The touch being equall of each others hart.  
 Ah, no : sweet Lord, thou must not mone alone.  
 For, without me, thou art not all thou art ;

St. 84, l. 5, 'O' : St. 86, l. 4, , accepted from ' after ' thee.'

Nor my teares, without thine, are fully teares :  
For thus vnioyn'd, sorrow but halfe appeares.

## 88

Ioyne then our plaints, and make our grieve full grieve :  
Our state being one, let vs not part our care.  
Sorrow hath onely this poore bare reliefe,  
To be bemon'd of such as wofull are.  
And should I rob thy grieve, and be the thiefe  
To steale a priuate part, and feuerall share,  
Defrawding sorrow of her perfect due ?  
No, no, my Lord ; I come to helpe thee rue.

## 89

Then forth she goes, a close concealed way  
(As grieuing to be seene not as she was) ;  
Labors t'attaine his prefence all she may :  
Which, with most hard a-do, was brought to passe.  
For, that night, vnderstanding where he lay,  
With earnest 'treating she procur'd her Passe  
To come to him : Rigor could not denie  
Those teares, so poore a suite, or put her by.

## 90

Entring the chamber, where he was alone  
(As one whose former fortune was his shame)  
Loathing th'vpbrayding eye of any one  
That knew him once, and knowes him not the fame :  
When hauing giuen expresse command that none  
Should presse to him ; yet hearing some that came  
Turnes angerly about his grieued eyes :  
When, lo, his sweete afflicted Queene he spies.

St. 88, l. 5, 'O'. St. 90, l. 3, 'obraidng'.



## 91

Straight cleares his brow ; and with a borrowed smile,  
 What, my deare Queene? welcome, my deare, he sayes :  
 And (striuing his owne passion to beguile,  
 And hide the sorrow which his eye betrayes)  
 Could speake no more ; but wrings her hands, the while :  
 And then, Sweet Lady ; and againe he stayes :  
 Th'excesse of ioy and sorrow both affordes  
 Affliction none, or but poore niggard wordes.

## 92

Shee that was come with a resolved hart,  
 And with a mouth full stor'd, with wordes well choise ;  
 Thinking, This comfort wil I first impart  
 Vnto my Lord, and thus my speech dispose :  
 Then thus Ile say, thus looke, and with this art  
 Hide mine owne sorrow to relieue his woes ;  
 When being come, all this prov'd nought but winde ;  
 Teares, lookes, and fighes, do only tell her minde.

## 93

Thus both stood silent and confused so,  
 Their eyes relating how their hearts did morne :  
 Both bigge with sorrow, and both great with wo  
 In labour with what was not to be borne :  
 This mightie burthen, wherewithall they goe,  
 Dies vndeliuered, perishes vnborne ;  
 Sorrow makes silence her best Orator,  
 Where words may make it lesse, not shew it more.

## 94

But he, whom longer time had learn'd the art  
 T'indure affliction, as a vsuall touch ;  
 Straines foorth his wordes, and throwes difmay apart,  
 To rayse vp her, whose passions now were such  
 As quite opprest her ouercharged hart  
 (Too small a vessell to containe so much)  
 And cheeres and mones, and fained hopes doth frame,  
 As if himfelfe beleeu'd, or hop't the fame.

## 95

And now, the while these Princes sorrowed,  
 Forward Ambition (come so neere her ende)  
 Sleeper not, nor slippes th'occasion offered,  
 T'accomplish what it did before intend :  
 A Parlement is foorthwith summoned  
 In *Richards* name ; whereby they might pretend  
 A forme, to grace disorder, and a shewe  
 Of holy right, the right to ouerthrowe.

## 96

Order, how much predominant art thou !  
 That if but onely thou pretended art ;  
 How soone, deceiv'd mortalitie doth bow  
 To follow thine, as still the better part !  
 Tis thought, that reuerent Forme will not allow  
 Iniquitie, or sacred right peruart.  
 Within our soules, since then thou dwell'ft so strong ;  
 How ill do they, that vse thee, to do wrong !

St. 96, 'o how predominant'.

## 97

So ill did they, that in this formall course  
 Sought to establish a deformed right :  
 Who might as well effected it by force ;  
 But that men hold it wrong, what's wrought by might.  
 Offences vrg'd in publique are made worfe :  
 'The shew of iustice aggrauates despight.  
 " The multitude, that looke not to the cause,  
 " Rest satisfied, so it seeme done by lawes.

## 98

And now they diuerse articles obiect  
 Of rigor, malice, priuate fauourings,  
 Exaction, riot, falsehood, and neglect ;  
 Crimes done, but sildome answered by Kings :  
 Which Subiectes doe lament, but not correct.  
 And all these faults, which *Lancaster* now brings  
 Against a King, must be his owne, when hee,  
 By vrging others finnes, a King shall be.

## 99

For, all that was most odious was deuif'd,  
 And publisht in these articles abroad.  
 All th'erroures of his youth were here comprif'd,  
 Calamitie with obloquie to lode :

St. 98, l. 1, 'doth Enuie' ; l. 4, 'not to b' ; l. 5, 'may complaine'.

After st. 99 (= 95) in <sup>1</sup> comes this stanza—

' Ah could not *Maiestie* bee ruined  
 But with the fearefull powre of her owne name?  
 And must abufd obedience thus be led  
 With powrefull titles to consent to shame?  
 Could not Confusion be established  
 But Forme and Order must confirme the same?  
 Must they who his authority did hate,  
 Yet vie his stile to take away his state?'

(So <sup>2</sup>, with trivial variants of spelling, etc. ; l. 7, 'o thou').

And more to make him publikely despis'd,  
 Libels, inuectiues, rayling rimes, were fow'd  
 Among the vulgar, to prepare his fall  
 With more applause and good consent of all.

## 100

Looke how the day-hater, *Mineruas* bird,<sup>1</sup>  
 Whil'ft priuiledg'd with darknes and the night,  
 Doth liue secure t'himselfe, of others feard;  
 If but by chaunce discouered in the light,  
 How doth each little Fowle (with enuie stirr'd)  
 Call him to iustice, vrge him with despight;  
 Summon the feathered flockes of all the wood,  
 To come to scorne the tyrant of their blood:

## 101

So fares this King, lay'd open to disgrace,  
 Whil'ft euerie mouth full of reproche inuayes;  
 And euerie base detractor, in this case,  
 Vpon th'aduantage of misfortune playes:  
 Downe-falling Greatnes, vrged on apace,  
 Was followed-hard, by all disgracefull wayes;  
 Now in the point t'accelerate an end,  
 Whil'ft miserie had no meanes to defend.

## 102

Vpon those articles in Parlement  
 So haynous made, inforc't, and vrg'd so hard,  
 He was adiudg'd vnfit for gouernment,  
 And of all regal powre and rule debarr'd:  
 For, who durst contradict the Dukes intent?  
 Or, if they durst, should patiently be heard?

<sup>1</sup> The Owle is said to bee *Mineruas* bird.

St. 100, l. 5, 'O how': l. 6, 'Cals': l. 7, 'Summons'

Defire of change, old wrongs, new hopes, fresh feare,  
Being far the *maior* part, the cause must beare.

## 103

Yet must we thinke, that some which saw the course  
(The better few, whom passion made not blinde)  
Stood careful lookers-on, with sad commorfe,  
Amaz'd to see what headlong rage design'd :  
And, in a more confiderate discourfe  
Of tragicall euent, thereof diuin'd ;  
And would excuse and pittie those defects,  
Which, with such hate, the aduerse parte objects :

## 104

" Saying, better yeeres might worke a better care,  
" And time might well haue cur'd what was amisse ;  
" Since all these faults fatall to Greatnes are,  
" And worse defects haue not beene punisht thus :  
" But yet in this the heauens, we feare, prepare  
" Confusion for our finnes, aswell as his ;  
" And his calamitie beginneth our :  
" For, he his owne, and we abus'd his powre.

## 105

Thus murmur'd they ; when to the king were sent  
Certaine who might perswade him to forsake  
And leaue his Crowne, and with his free consent  
A voluntarie Resignation make ;

St. 103, ll. 7, 8—

' And did or might these griued harts to ease  
Vtter these sorrowes in like termes as these.'

St. 104, l. 1, 'Since', '': l. 5, 'δ'.

St. 105, l. 1, 'griued', '': l. 2, 'that might . . . and vrge him on' :  
l. 3, 'To . . . make with' : l. 4, without 'make'.

Since that he could no other way preuent  
 These dangers which he else must needs partake :  
 For, not to yeeld, to what feare would constrainē,  
 Would barre the hope of life, that did remaine.

106

And yet this scarce could worke him to consent  
 To yeeld vp that so foone, men hold so deare.  
 Why, let him take (fayd he) the gouvernement,  
 And let me yet the name, the title beare :  
 Leaue me that shewe, and I wil be content ;  
 And let them rule and gouerne without feare.  
 What, can they not my shadow now indure,  
 When they of all the rest do stand secure ?

107

Let me hold that, I aske no other good :  
 Nay, that I will hold ; *Henrie* do thy worst,  
 For, ere I yeeld my Crowne, I'le lose my blood ;  
 That blood, that shall make thee and thine accurst.  
 Thus resolute a while he firmly stood,  
 Till loue of life, and feare of being forc't,  
 Vanquisht th'innated valour of his minde ;  
 And hope, and friends, so wrought, that he resign'd.

108

Then to the Towre (where he remained) went  
 The *Duke*, with all the *Peeres* in company,  
 To take his offer with his free consent,  
 And this his Refignation testifie ;  
 And thereof to informe the Parlement,  
 That all things might be done more formally,

St. 105, l. 5, 'Seeing he' : l. 6, 'The daungers of his owne confusion' :  
 St. 108, l. 2, 'attended on' : l. 4, 'And testifie his refignation' : l. 6,  
 'more formally be done'.

And men thereby rest better fatisfide ;  
As of an act not forc't, or falsifide.

## 109

And forth h'is brought vnto th'accomplishment,  
Deckt with the Crowne in princely robes that day ;  
Like as the dead, in other Landes are sent  
Vnto their Graues, in all their best aray :  
And euen like good, did him this ornament.  
For, what he brought, he must not beare away ;  
But buries there his glory and his name,  
Intomb'd both in his owne and others blame.

St. 108, l. 7, 'might rest more fatisfide thereby' : l. 8, 'As not done of constraint but willingly'.

After st. 108 (= 103) come these two stanzas in ' :—

## 109.

What dissolute proceedings haue we here ?  
What strange presumptuous disobedience ?  
What vnheard fury void of awe or feare,  
With monstrous vnexampl'd insolence ?  
Durst subiects euer here or any where  
Thus impiously presume so foule offence ?  
To violate the power commanding all  
And into iudgement maiestie to call.

## 110.

O fame conceiue and doe not carry word  
To after-comming ages of our shame ;  
Blot out of bookes and rase out of Record  
All monuments memorials of the fame :  
Forget to tell how we did lift our sword,  
And enuious idle accusations frame,  
Against our lawfull fou'raigne, when we ought  
His end and our release haue staid not sought.

So <sup>2</sup>, with trivial variants of spelling, etc. In st. 110, l. 1, in <sup>2</sup>, 'Fame hide it close.'

St. 109, l. 8, 'for euermore in'.

## 110

And there vnto th'assembly of these States,  
 His sorrow for their long indured wrong  
 Through his abus'd authority relates,  
 Excuses with confessions mixt among :  
 And glad he sayes, to finish all debates,  
 He was to leaue the Rule they fought-for long ;  
 Protesting, if it might be for their good,  
 He would as gladly sacrifice his blood.

## 111

There, he his Subiectes all (in generall)  
 Affoyles and quites of oath and fealtie,  
 Renounces interest, title, right and all  
 That appertained to kingly dignitie ;  
 Subscribes thereto, and doth to witnesse call  
 Both heauen and earth, and God, & Saints on hie,  
 To testifie his act, and doth professe  
 To do the same with most free willingnesse.

## 112

Tis said, with his owne hands he gaue the Crowne  
 To *Lancaster*, and wisht to God he might  
 Haue better ioy thereof then he had knowne,  
 And that his power might make it his by right :  
 And furthermore he crav'd, of all his owne,  
 But life, to liue apart a priuate wight ;  
 The vanity of Greatnes he had tri'd,  
 And how vnshurely standes the foote of pride.

St. 111, ll. 7, 8—

'And all this did he but t' haue leaue to liue,  
 The which was all he crav'd that they would giue' 1.

St. 112, l. 1, 'Tis' in '1', and 'This' in text is among errata.



## 113

This brought to passe, the Lords returne with speed,  
 The Parlement hereof to certifie ;  
 Where, they at large publisht the Kings owne deed,  
 And forme of his resignement verbally :  
 And thereupon doth *Lancaster* proceede  
 To make his claime vnto the Monarchie ;  
 And shewes the right he hath, both by descent,  
 And by recouerie, to the gouernement.

## 114

Which being granted, *Canterburie* rose  
 And animates them, by the sacred word,  
 " In this their course : and by his Text,<sup>1</sup> he shewes  
 " How well they made their choyce of such a Lord ;  
 " Who, as a man was able to dispose  
 " And guide the State : and how the royall sworde  
 " Ought to be at a mans commandement ;  
 " Not at a childes, or one as impotent.

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop of Cant. takes his text out of the first booke of the Kings, cap. 9. *Vir dominabitur in populo.*

St. 113, l. 2, 'Tacquaint the Parlament with what is done' : l. 4,  
 ' And manner of his resignation ' : ll. 5-8—

' When *Canterbury* vrge them to proceed  
 Forthwith vnto a new election,  
 And *Henry* make his claime both by descent  
 And resignation, to the gouernement '.

St. 114-15 not in <sup>1</sup>.

After st. 113 (= 120) comes this in <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> :—

## 121.

' Who there with full and generall applause  
 Is straight proclaimed as king and after crownd,  
 The other cleane reiectd by the lawes,  
 As one the Realme had most vnworthy found.  
 And yet ô *Lancaster* I would thy cause  
 Had had as lawfull and as sure ground,

## 115

" Since, when the greatnes of his charge exceeds  
 " The smallnesse of his powers, he must collate  
 " The same on others : whence, sayes he, proceedes  
 " This rauenous expilation of the State ;  
 " Whence no man any more the publike heedes,  
 " Then so much as imports his priuate state.  
 " *Our Health is from our head* : if that be ill,  
 " Distemp' red, faint, and weake, all the reft will.

As how thy vertues, and thy glorious worth,  
 For *Empire* borne, for *Gouernment* brought forth.

## 122.

Then had not ð that sad succeeding age,  
 Her fieldes engrain'd with bloud, her riuers dide  
 With purple streaming wounds of her owne rage,  
 Nor seene her Princes flaine, her Peeres distroide :  
 Then hadst not thou deare country come to wage  
 Warre with thy selfe, nor those afflictions tride  
 Of all-confuming discord here so long,  
 Too mighty now, against thy selfe too strong.

## 123.

So had the bloud of thirteene battels fought  
 About this quarrell, fatall to our land,  
 Haue beene referu'd with glory to haue brought  
 Nations and kingdomes vnder our commaund :  
 So should all that thy sonne and thou had got,  
 With glorious praise haue still beene in our hand,  
 And that great worthy, last of all thy name,  
 Had ioined the westerne *Empire* to the same.

## 124.

So should his great imperiall daughter now  
 Th'admired glory of the earth, hereby  
 Haue had all this nere bordring world to bow  
 To her immortalized maiestie :  
 Then proud *Iberus* Lord, not seeking how  
 T'attaine a false-conceiued Monarchie,

## 116

" Then to the present, all his speach he drawes,  
 " And shewes what admirable parts abound  
 " In this braue Prince ; being fit to giue them lawes,  
 " Fit for his valour, fit for iudgement found.  
 And *Lancaster*, indeed I would thy cause  
 Had had as lawfull and as sure a ground,  
 As had thy vertues, and thy noble hart,  
 Ordaind, and borne for an Imperial part.

Had kept his barraine boundes and not haue stood  
 In vaine attempts t'inrich the seas with bloud.

## 125.

Nor interposed his greedy medling hands  
 In other mens affaires t'aduance his owne,  
 Nor tyrannifd ouer so manie landes  
 From late obscurity so mighty growne :  
 But we with our vndaunted conquering bandes  
 Had lent our Ensignes vnto landes vnknowne,  
 And now with more audacious force began  
 To march against th'earths-terror *Ottoman*.

## 126.

Where thou (*O worthy Essex*) whose deare bloud  
 Referu'd from these sad times to honour ours,  
 Shouldst haue conducted Armies and now stood  
 Against the strength of all the *Easterne Powers* :  
 There should thy valiant hand perform'd that good  
 Against the barbarisme that all deuoures,  
 That all the states of the redeemed *Earth*  
 Might thee admire, and glorifie thy birth.

## 127.

Thence might thy valor haue brought in despight  
 Eternall *Tropheis* to *Elisas* name,  
 And laid downe at her sacred feete the right  
 Of all thy deedes, and glory of the fame.  
 All that which by her powre, and by thy might  
 Thou hadst attaind, to her immortal fame,

## 117

Then had not that confus'd succeeding Age  
 Our fieldes ingrayn'd with bloud, our riuers dy'd  
 With purple-streaming woundes of our owne rage,  
 Nor seene our Princes slaughtred, Peeres destroyd.

Had made thee wondred here, admird asfarre,  
 The *Mercury* of peace, the *Mars* of warre.

## 128.

And then my Lord the glorie of my muse  
 Pure-spirited *Mountioy*, th'ornament of men,  
 Hadst had a large and mighty field to vse  
 Thy holie giftes and learned counfels then :  
 Whole landes and Prouinces should not excuse  
 Thy trusty faith, nor yet sufficient beene  
 For those great vertues to haue ordered  
 And in a calme obedience gouerned.

## 129.

Nor had I then at solitary brooke  
 Sate framing bloody accents of these times,  
 Nor told of woundes that grieved eies might looke  
 Vpon the horror of their fathers crimes,  
 But rather a more glorious subiect tooke  
 To register in euerlasting rimes  
 The sacred glories of ELIZABETH,  
 Th'haue kept the wonder of her worth from death.

## 130.

And likewise builded for your great designes  
 O you two worthies, bewties of our state,  
 Immortal tombes of vnconfuming lines,  
 To keepe your holie deedes inuiolat :  
 You on whose actions yet the image shines  
 Of ancient honor neere worne out of date ;  
 You that haue vertue into fashion brought,  
 In these neglected times respected nought.

## 131.

But whither am I carried with the thought  
 Of what might haue beene, had not this beene so ?  
 O sacred *Fury* how was I thus brought  
 To speake of glory that must tell of wo ?

Then hadst not thou, deare Countrie, com'n to vvage  
 Warre vvith thy felfe, nor those afflictions try'd  
 Of all confuming discorde here so long ;  
 Too mightie novv, against thy felfe too strong.

Those acted mischiefes cannot be vnwrought,  
 Though men be pleas'd to wish it were not so ;  
 And therefore leaue sad *Muse* th'imagin'd good,  
 For we must now retorne againe to bloud.

So too in <sup>2</sup>—except st. 126-7, 130—with trivial variants in spelling, etc.  
 In st. 122, l. 1, 'Then had not that confuz'd succeeding age': st. 123, l. 1,  
 'Whereby': st. 124, l. 1, 'So should': st. 129, ll. 5-6, '... so sad a  
 subiect tooke, Composing.'

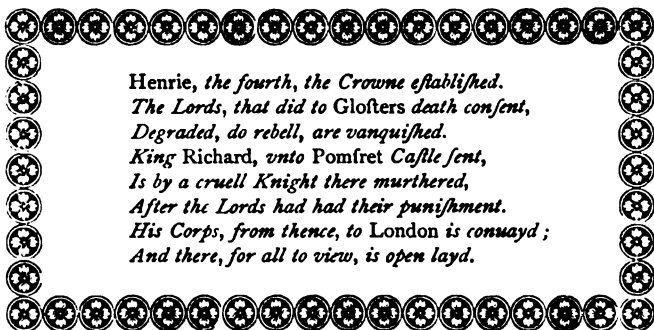
In st. 121, ll. 5-8 are nearly as in 116 of text.

St. 117 = 122 of <sup>1</sup>.

*The ende of the second Booke.*



## THE ARGVMENT OF THE THIRD BOOKE.



### I



Now riſen is that Head, by which did  
 ſpring  
 The birth of two ſtrong Heads, two  
 Crownes, two rights;  
 That monſtrous ſhape, that afterward  
 did bring  
 Deform'd confuſion to diſtracted wights.

Argu<sup>t</sup>, ll. 5, 6—' Is murthred there. The Percies making head  
 Againſt the king, receiue . . . '1 :

ll. 7, 8—' And in the end a tedious troublous raigne,  
 A grieuous death concludes with care and paine '1.

Now is attain'd that dearely purchaft thing  
That fill'd the world with lamentable fights :  
And now, attain'd, all care is how to frame  
Meanes to eftablifh, and to hold the fame.

## 2

First, he attends to build a ftrong concept  
Of his vsurped powre, in peoples mindes ;  
And armes his caufe with furniture of weight :  
Which eafily the fword, and Greatneffe findes.  
Succeffion, Conqueft, and election ftraight  
Suggested are, and prov'd in all their kindes.  
More then ynough they finde, who finde their might  
Hath force to make all, that they will haue, Right.

## 3

Though one of thefe might verie well fuffife  
His prefent approbation to procure.  
" But who his own caufe makes, doth ftill deuife  
" To make too much, to haue it more then fure.  
" Feare cafts too deepe, and euer is too wife :  
" No vsuall plots, the doubtfull can fecure.  
And all thefe difagreeing Claymes he had,  
With hope to make one good of many bad.

St. 2, l. 1, 'Striuing at firft' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> : l. 2, 'weake caufe in oft-abused' <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> :

ll. 3, 4—'He deckes his deed with colours of deceit  
And ornaments of right, which now he . . . ' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> :

l. 7, 'findes his' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 3, l. 1, 'All thefe he hath when one good would' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> : l. 2, 'The  
worlds applaufe and liking' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> : l. 6, 'The doubtful can no vsuall plots  
endure' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> : ll. 7, 8—

' These felfe-accufing titles all he had,  
Seeking to make one good . . . ' <sup>1</sup>.

## 4

Like vnto him that fears, and faine would stop  
 An inundation working-on apace,  
 Runs to the Breach, heapes mightie matter vp,  
 Throwes indigested burthens on the place,  
 Lodes with huge weights, the out-side, & the top,  
 But leaues the inner partes in feeble cafe ;  
 Whil't th'vnder-searching water, working-on,  
 Beares (proudly) downe, all that was idly don :

## 5

So fares it with our indirect desseignes,  
 And wrong contriued labors, at the last ;  
 Whil't working Time, and iustice vndermines  
 The feeble frame, held to be wrought so fast :  
 Then when out-breaking vengeance vncombines  
 The ill-ioyn'd plots so fayrely ouer-cast ;  
 Turnes vp those huge pretended heapes of showes,  
 And all these weake illusions ouer-throws.

St. 4, l. 1, 'Like foolish he' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>: ll. 7, 8—

'Thinking for that the outward forme seemes strong  
 Tis sure enough, and may continue long' <sup>1</sup>.

Then follows this additional stanza 5 :—

## 5.

But when the vnderworking waues come on  
 Searching the secrets of vnfenced waies,  
 The full maine *Ocean* following hard vpon,  
 Beares downe that idle frame, skorning such staies,  
 Prostrates that frustrate paines as if not done,  
 And proudly on his filly labors plaies ;  
 Whil't he perceiues his error, and doth finde,  
 His ill proceeding contrary to kind. (So <sup>2</sup>.)

St. 5, l. 4, 'ground-worke craft thought laid' <sup>1</sup>.



## 6

But, after, hauing made his title plaine,  
 Vnto his Coronation he proceedes :  
 Which, in most sumptuous fort (to intertaine  
 The gazing vulgar, whom this splendor feeds)  
 Is stately furnisht, with a glorious traine :  
 Wherein, the former Kings he far exceeds ;  
 And all t'amuse the world, and turne the thought  
 Of what & how 'twas done, to what is wrought.

## 7

And that he might on many props repose,  
 He strengths his owne, & who his part did take :  
 New Officers, new Councillors he chose :  
 His eldest sonne, the Prince of *Wales* doth make ;  
 His second, Lord high Steward : and, to those  
 Had hazarded their fortunes for his sake,  
 He giues them charge, as merites their defeat ;  
 And rayfes them, by crushing th'aduerse part.

## 8

So that hereby, the vniuersall face  
 Of Court, with all the Offices of State  
 Are wholly chang'd, by death, or by disgrace,  
 Vpon th'aduantage of the peoples hate ;

St. 6, l. 1, 'wel he thought his powre made al secure' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>: l. 2, 'And not t'his' <sup>1</sup>: l. 5, 'furnisht with a stately-glorious' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 7, l. 8 'Seeking all meanes t'oppreffe' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 8, ll. 1-4—' All Counsellors vnto the former king,  
 All th'officers. and iudges of the State,  
 He to disgrace, or els to death did bring  
 Lead by his owne, or by . . . ' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>:

"Who, euer enuying those of chiefeft place  
 "(Whom neither worth nor vertue, but their fate  
 "Exalted hath) doo, when their Kings doo naught  
 "(Because it's in their powre) iudge it their faute.

## 9

And in their steed, such as were popular,  
 And wel-deferuing, were aduanc't by grace.  
 Graue *Shirley*, he ordaines Lord Chancellor ;  
 Both worthy for his vertues, and his race :  
 And *Norburie* hee appoints for Treasurer ;  
 A man, though meane, yet fit to vse that place :  
 And others, t'other roomes ; whom people hold  
 So much more lov'd, how much they loath the old.

## 10

And it behoues him now to doo his best  
 T'approue his vow, and oath made to the State :  
 And many great diforders he redrest ;  
 Which alwayes Vfurpation makes the gate  
 To let it felfe into the peoples breft,  
 And seekes the publike best t'accommodate :  
 Wherein, Iniustice better doth then Right :  
 " For, who reproues the lame, must go vpriht.

St. 8, ll. 5, 6—"Who euer more by nature mallicing

Their might whom not their vertues but their fate''':

l. 7, ' . . who when kings do what's''': l. 8, 'tis . . . tis thought their  
 faut''':

St. 9, l. 1, 'plac'd for those''', and so onward : l. 2, 'Belou'd of him,  
 and in the peoples''': l. 3, 'Learned graue *Shirley* he makes *Chauncellor*'':  
 l. 4, 'One of great spirit, worthy his worthy race''': l. 5, 'Clifford he  
 ordaines Lord''': l. 6, 'whose vertues well-deferu'd''': l. 7, 'Others to  
 other''':

St. 10 and 11 not in'',.

## I I

Though it be easie to accuse a State,  
 Of imperfection and misgouernment :  
 And easie to beget in people hate  
 Of present Rule, which cannot all content ;  
 And fewe attempt it, that effect it not :  
 Yet, t'introduce a better gouernment  
 In steed thereof, if we t'example looke,  
 The vnder-takers haue beene ouer-tooke.

## I 2

Then, against those he strictly doth proceed,  
 Who chiefe of *Glosters* death were guiltie thought ;<sup>1</sup>  
 Not so much for the hatred of that deed :  
 But, vnder this pretext, the meanes he fought  
 To ruine such whose might did much exceed  
 His powre to wrong, nor else could well be wrought.  
 Law, Iustice, blood, the zeale vnto the dead,  
 Were on his fide, and his drift coloured.

## I 3

Here, many of the greatest of the Land  
 Accus'd were of the act,<sup>2</sup> strong proofes brought out ;  
 Which strongly were refell'd : the Lords all stand,  
 To cleare their Cause, most resolutely stout :  
 The King, perceiuing what he tooke in hand  
 Was not with safety to be brought-about,  
 Defists to vrge their death, in any wise ;  
 Respecting number, strength, friends, and allies.

<sup>1</sup> The Nobilitie accused for the death of Thomas of Woodstocke D. of Gloster.

<sup>2</sup> The Dukes of Surry, Excester, and Aumarle, The Earles of Salisburie, and Gloster, the Bishop of Carlile, Sir Thomas Blunt, and other, were the parties accused for the death of the D. of Gloster.

St. 12, l. 8, 'shadowed' <sup>1</sup>.

## 14

Nor was it time now, in his tender raigne,  
 And infant-young-beginning gouvernement,  
 To striue, with blood ; when lenitie must gaine  
 The mightie men, and please the discontent.  
 " New Kings do feare ; when old Courts farther straine :  
 Establisht States to all things will consent.  
 He must dispense with his will, and their crime,  
 And seeke t'opresse and weare them out with time.

## 15

Yet not to seeme, but to haue something done,  
 In what he could, not as he would effect ;  
 To fatisfie the people (that begun,  
 Reuenge of wrong and iustice to expect)  
 He cauf'd be put to execution, one,  
 Who to performe this murther was elect ;  
 A base companion, few, or none would misse :  
 Who first did serue their turne ; and now serues his.

## 16

And, to abase the too high state of those  
 That were accus'd, and lessen their degrees,  
*Aumarle, Surry, Exceter*, must lose  
 The names of Dukes ; their titles, dignities,  
 And whatsoeuer honour with it goes ;  
 The Earles, their titles and their Signories :  
 And all they got in th'end of *Richards* raigne,  
 Since *Glosters* death, they must restore againe ;

St. 15, l. 5, 'one' transferred to commencement of l. 6 in 1: l. 6, 'One that to do' 1: l. 7, 'mean man whom' 1.

St. 16, l. 5, 'honour with it goes' 1, 2, accepted for 'profits thereby rise' of our text.

## 17

By this, as if by *Ostracisme*, t'abate  
 That great presumptiue wealth, whereon they stand.  
 For, first, hereby impov'rishing their state,  
 He killes the meanes they might have to withstand :  
 Then equals them with other whom they hate  
 Who (by their spoyles) are raifd to hie command ;  
 That weake, and enuied, if they should conspire,  
 They wracke themselues, and he hath his desire.

## 18

Yet, by this grace (which must be held a grace)  
 As both they, and the world, are made beleue,  
 He thinks t'haue dealt benignly in this case,  
 And left them state ynough, to let them liue ;  
 And that the taking, from thẽ, meanes & place,  
 Was nothing, in respect what hee did giue :  
 But they, that knowe how their owne reckning goes,  
 Account not what they haue, but what they lose.

## 19

The Parlement, which now is held, decreed  
 What-euer pleas'd the King but to propound ;  
 Confirm'd the Crowne, to him, and to his seed,  
 And by their oath their due obedience bound :

St. 18, l. 1, 'And' : ll. 3-8—

' He doth himselfe secure and them deface,  
 Thinking not rigor that which life doth giue :  
 But what an error was it in this case  
 To wrong so many, and to let them liue ?  
 But errors are no errors but by fate,  
 For oft th'euent make[s] faults fortunate.'

Which was the powre that stood him best in steed,  
 And made what-euer broken courtes found.  
 For, what he got by fortune, fauour, might,  
 It was the State that now must make his right.

## 20

Here was agreed, to make all more secure,  
 That *Richard* should remaine, for euermore,  
 Close-prisoner ; least the Realme might chaunce indure  
 Some new reuolt, or any fresh vp-rore :  
 And, that if any should such broyle procure,  
 By him, or for him, he should die therefore.  
 So that a talke of tumult, and a breath,  
 Would serue him as his passing bell to death.

## 21

Yet, reuerent *Carlile*, thou didst there oppose  
 Thy holy voyce, to saue thy Princes blood ;  
 And freely checktst this iudgement, and his foes :  
 When all were bad, yet thou dar'dst to be good.  
 Be it inrold (that time may neuer lose  
 The memorie) how firme thy courage stood ;  
 When powre, disgrace, nor death, could ought diuert  
 Thy glorious tongue, thus, to reueale thy heart.

## 22

" Graue, reuerent Lords, since that this sacred place  
 " Our *Auentine-Retire*, our holy hill  
 " (This place, soule of our State, the Realmes best grace)  
 " Doth priuiledge me speake what reason will :

St. 19, ll. 5-8—

' And ſo b' it ſhinne t'examine now this deed,  
 How iuſt tis done and on how ſure a ground ?  
 Whether that Court maie change due courſe or no,  
 Or ought the realme againſt the realme can do ? '.

" Let me but say my conscience in this case ;  
 " Least finne of silence shew my hart was ill :  
 " And let these walles witnesse, if you will not,  
 " I do discharge my foule, of this foule blot.

## 23

" Neuer shall this poore breath of mine consent,  
 " That he that two and twentie yeeres hath raignd  
 " As lawfull Lord, and King by iust descent,  
 " Should here be iudg'd, vnheard, and vnarraignd ;  
 " By Subiects too (Iudges incompetent  
 " To iudge their King vnlawfully detain'd)  
 " And vnrought-foorth to plead his guiltles Cause ;  
 " Barring th'Annoynted, libertie of lawes.

## 24

" Haue you not done inough, with what is done ?  
 " Must needes disorder growe, from bad, to worse ?  
 " Can neuer mischief end as it begunne,  
 " But being once out, must farther out, of force ?  
 " Thinke you, that any meanes, vnder the Sunne,  
 " Can assure so indirect a course ?  
 " Or any broken cunning build so strong,  
 " As can hold out the hand of vengeance long ?

St. 23, l. 5, 'two'.

St. 24, in <sup>1</sup>, as follows :—

' Haue you not done inough ? blush, blush to thinke,  
 Lay on your harts those hands ; those hands too rash ;  
 Know that this staine that's made doth further sinke  
 Into your soules then all your blouds can wash ;  
 Leaue with the mischief done and doe not linke  
 Sin vnto sin, for heauen and earth will dash  
 This ill accomplisht worke ere it be long ;  
 For weake he builds that fences wrong with wrong.'

St. 24, in <sup>2</sup> as 1609 and our text.

## 25

Stopt, there, was his too vehement speech with speed,  
 And he sent close to warde, from where he stood ;  
 His zeale vntimely, deem'd too much t'exceed  
 The meafure of his wit, and did no good.  
 They resolute, for all this, do proceed  
 Vnto that iudgement could not be withstood :  
 The King had all he crav'd, or could compell :  
 And all was done ; let others iudge, how well.

## 26

Now *Muse* relate a wofull accident,  
 And tell the blood-shed of these mightie Peeres,  
 Who (lately reconcil'd) rest discontent,  
 Griev'd with disgrace, remayning in their feares :  
 How-euer seeming outwardly content ;  
 Yet th'inward touch, that wounded honor beares,  
 Rests closely rankling, and can finde no ease,  
 Till death of one side cure this great difeafe.

## 27

Meanes how to feele, and learne each others hart,  
 By th'*Abbots* skill of *Westminster* is found :  
 Who, secretly disliking *Henries* part,  
 Inuites these Lords, and those hee meant to sound ;  
 Feasts them with cost, and drawes them on with art ;  
 And darke, and doubtfull questions doth propound :  
 Then playner speakes ; and yet vncertaine speakes :  
 Then wishes well ; then off abruptly breakes.

St. 25, l. 8. ' we will not fay ' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 27, l. 2, ' By th'Abbot now ' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>



## 28

My Lords, faith he, I feare we shall not finde  
This long-defired King, such as was thought :  
But yet, he may do well : God turne his minde :  
Tis yet new dayes : but, Ill bodes new and nought :  
Some yet speed well : though all men of my kinde  
Haue cause to doubt ; his speech is not forgot,  
*That Princes had too little, we too much.*  
God giue him grace : but 'tis ill trusting such.

## 29

This open-clofe, apparent-darke discourfe  
Drew-on much speech : and euerie man replies :  
And euery man addes heate : and words inforce  
And vrge out wordes. For, when one man espies  
Anothers minde like his, then ill breedes worfe ;  
And out breaks all in th'end what clofely lies.  
For, when men well haue fed, th'blood being warme,  
Then are they most improuident of harme.

## 30

Bewray they did their inward boyling spight ;  
Each stirring other to reuenge their cause.  
One sayes he neuer should indure the fight  
Of that forsworne, that wrongs both Land and lawes  
Another vowes the same ; of his minde, right.  
A third t'a point more neere the matter drawes ;  
Sweares, if they would, he would attempt the thing,  
To chace th'vſurper, and replace their King.

## 31

Thus one by one, kindling each others fire,  
 Till all inflam'd, they all in one agree :  
 All resolute to prosecute their ire,  
 Seeking their owne, and Countries cause to free ;  
 And haue his first, that their blood did conspire.  
 For, no way else, they sayd, but this, could be  
 Their wrong-detained honor to redeeme :  
 Which, true-bred blood should, more then life, esteeme.

## 32

And let not this our new-made faithles Lord,  
 Sayth *Surry*,<sup>1</sup> thinke, that we are left so bare  
 (Though bare inough) but we wil finde a sword  
 To kill him with, when he shal not beware.  
 For, he that is with life and will instor'd,  
 Hath, for reuenge, inough, and needes not care :  
 For, time brings meanes to furnish him withall :  
 Let him but wayte occasions as they fall.

## 33

Then, of the manner how t'effect the thing,  
 Consulted was : and in the ende agreed,  
 That at a Maske, and common Reuelling,  
 Which was ordain'd, they should performe the deed ;  
 For, that would be least doubted of the King,  
 And fittest for their safetie to proceed :  
 The night, their number, and the foddaine act,  
 Would dash all order, and protect their fact.

<sup>1</sup> Thom. late Duke of Surry.

St. 32, l. 5, 'but floor'd' <sup>1</sup>: ll. 7, 8—

' . . . will fit and furnish all the rest

Let him but euen attend, and doe his best' <sup>1</sup>.

## 34

Befides, they might vnder the faire pretence  
Of Tilts and Turnements, which they intend,  
Prouide them horfe, and armour for defence,  
And all things else conuenient for their end :  
Befides, they might hold fure intelligence  
Among themfelues, without fufpect t'offend :  
The King would thinke, they fought but grace in Court,  
With all their great preparing in this fort.

## 35

A folemne oath religiously they take,  
By intermutuall vowes protefting there,  
This neuer to reueale ; nor to forfake  
So good a Caufe, for danger, hope, or feare :  
The Sacrament, the pledge of faith, they take :  
And euerie man vpon his fword doth fweare,  
By Knighthood, honor, or what elfe should binde ;  
To affecure, the more, each others minde.

## 36

And when all this was done, and thought well done,  
And euerie one affures him good fucceffe,  
And eafie feemes the thing to euerie one  
That nought could croffe their plot, or them fuppreffe :  
Yet one among the reft (whose minde not wonne  
With th'ouer-weening thought of hot exceffe,  
Nor headlong carryed with the ftream of will,  
Nor by his owne election led to ill)

## 37

Iudicious *Blunt*<sup>1</sup> (whose learning, valor, wit,  
 Had taught true knowledge in the course of things ;  
 Knew dangers as they were, and th'humorous fit  
 Of ware-lesse discontent, what end it brings)  
 Counsels their heat, with calme graue words, and fit  
 (Words well fore-thought, that from experience springs)  
 And warnes a warier cariage in the thing ;  
 Least blind presumption worke their ruining.

## 38

" My Lords, sayth he, I knowe your wisedomes such,  
 " As that of mine aduice you haue no need :  
 " I knowe, you knowe how much the thing doth touch  
 " The maine of all your states, your blood, your seed :  
 " Yet, since the same concernes my life, as much  
 " As his whose hand is chiefeſt in this deed,  
 " And that my foote muſt go as farre, as his ;  
 " I thinke, my tongue may ſpeake what needfull is.

## 39

" The thing we enterprize, I knowe, doth beare  
 " Great poſſibilitie of good effect ;  
 " For-that ſo many men of might there are  
 " That venture here this action to direct :  
 " Which meaner wightes, of truſt and credite bare,  
 " Not ſo reſpected, could not looke t'effect.  
 " For none, without great hopes, will follow ſuch  
 " Whoſe powre, and honor doth not promiſe much.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thom. Blunt.

St. 37, l. 1, 'Sober, milde' ; \* as 1609 and our text, and ſo in l. 2 :  
 l. 2, 'iudgement'.

## 40

" Besides, this new, and doubtfull gouernment,  
 " The wauering faith of people vaine, and light ;  
 " The secret hopes of many discontent ;  
 " The naturall affection to the right ;  
 " Our lawfull Sov'raignes life, in prison pent,  
 " Whom men begin to pittie now, not spight ;  
 " Our well layd plot, and all, I must confesse,  
 " With our iust cause, doth promise good successe.

## 41

" But this is yet the outward fayrest side  
 " Of our desseigne : within, rests more of feare,  
 " More dread of sad euent yet vndescri'd,  
 " Then (my most worthy Lords) I would there were :  
 " But yet, I speake not this as to diuide  
 " Your thoughts from th'act, or to dismay your cheere ;  
 " Onely to adde, vnto your forward will,  
 " A moderate feare, to cast the worst of ill.

## 42

" Danger before, and in, and after th'act,  
 " You needes must graunt, is great, and to be waigh'd.  
 " Before ; least, while we do the deede protract,  
 " It be by any of our selues bewraid :  
 " For, many being priuie to the fact,  
 " How hard it is to keepe it vnbetraid ?  
 " When the betrayer shal haue life and grace,  
 " And rid himselfe of danger and disgrace.

St. 42, l. 7, 'grace and life' : l. 8, 'of strife'.

## 43

“ For, though some few continue resolute ;  
“ Yet many shrink, which at the first would dare,  
“ And be the foremost men to execute,  
“ If th’act, and motion at one instant were :  
“ But, intermission suffers men dispute  
“ What dangers are, and cast with farther care :  
“ Cold doubt cauls with honor, scorneth fame :  
“ And in the end, feare waighes downe faith, with shame.

## 44

“ Then in the act, what perils shall we finde,  
“ If either place, or time, or other course,  
“ Cause vs to alter th’order now assign’d ?  
“ Or that, then we expect, things happen worse ?  
“ If either error, or a fainting minde,  
“ An indiscreet amazement, or remorse,  
“ In any at that instant should be found ;  
“ How much it might the act, and all confound ?

## 45

“ After the deede, the dangers are no lesse ;  
“ Left that, our forwardnes not seconded  
“ By our owne followers, and accomplices  
“ (Being kept backe, or slowe, or hindered)  
“ The hastie multitude rush-on, t’oppresse  
“ Confused weakenes, there vnsuccored ;  
“ Or rayse another head, of that same race,  
“ T’auenge his death, and prosecute the cause.

## 46

" All this (my Lords) must be considered  
 " (The best and worst of that which may succede)  
 " That valour mixt with feare, boldnesse with dread,  
 " May march more circumspect, with better heed.  
 " And, to preuent these mischiefs mentioned,  
 " Is, by our faith, our secrecie, and speed.  
 " For, euen already is the worke begun,  
 " And we rest all vndone, till all be done.

## 47

" And though I could haue wisht another course,  
 " In open fielde t'haue hazarded my blood ;  
 " Yet some are heere, whose loue is of that force  
 " To draw my life, whom zeale hath not withstood :  
 " But, like you not of your desseigne the worse :  
 " If the successe be good, your course is good :  
 " And ending well, our honor then begins.  
 " No hand of strife is pure, but that which wins.

## 48

This sayd, a sad still silence held their mindes,  
 Vpon the feareful proiect of their woe ;  
 But that, not long, ere forward Furie findes :  
 Incouraging perswasions on to goe.  
 We must (sayd they) we wil, our honour bindes,  
 Our safety bids, our sayth must haue it so :  
 We know the worst can come, 'tis thought vpon :  
 We cannot shift ; being in, we must goe on.

St. 47, l. 1, ' And ô' (bad) ' ; l. 3, ' But ' '.

## 49

And on in deed they went ; but (ô !) not farre :  
 A fatal stop trauerft their headlong courfe ;  
 Their drift comes knowne, and they difcouered are :  
 For, fome of many will be false, of force.  
*Aumarle* became the man, that did all marre,  
 Whether through indiscretion, chance, or worfe :  
 He makes his peace, with offering others blood ;  
 And shewes the King, how all the matter stood.

## 50

Then lo difmayde, confufion all poffeft,  
 Th'afflicted troupe, hearing their plot defcride.  
 Then runnes amaz'd Distresse, with sad vnrest,  
 To this, to that, to flie, to stand, to hide :  
 Distracted Terror knew not what was best ;  
 On what determination to abide.  
 At last, Despaire would yet stand to the Sword,  
 To trie what friendes would doe, or fate affoord.

## 51

Then this, then that mans ayde, they craue, implore ;  
 Poste here for helpe, feeke there their followers ;  
 Coniure their friendes they had, labour for more,  
 Sollicit all reputed fauourers,  
 Who *Richards* caufe seem'd to affect before :  
 And, in his name, write, pray, fende messengers ;  
 To try what faith was left, if by this art  
 Any would step to take Afflictions part.



## 52

And some were found; and some againe draw backe :  
 Vncertaine power could not it selfe retaine :  
 Intreate they may, authoritie they lacke :  
 And here, and there they march (but, all in vaine)  
 With desp'rate course ; like those that see their wracke  
 Euen on the Rockes of death, and yet they straine  
 That death may not them idly finde t'attend  
 Their certaine last, but worke to meet their end.

## 53

And long they stand not, ere the chiefe, surpriz'd,  
 Conclude with their deare blood their tragedie :  
 And all the rest, disperst run—some disguif'd—  
 To vnknowne coastes ; some to the shores do flye ;  
 Some to the woods, or whither feare aduif'd :  
 But running from, all to destruction hie.  
 The breach once made vpon a battered state,  
 Downe goes Distresse ; no shelter shroudes their fate.

## 54

And now what horror in their foules doth growe !  
 What sorrowes, with their friendes, and neere allies !  
 What mourning in their ruin'd houses now !  
 How many childrens plaints, and mothers cries !  
 How many wofull Widowes left to bow  
 To sad disgrace ! what perisht families !  
 What heires of hie rich hopes, their thoughts must frame  
 To base-downe-looking pouertie and shame !

## 55

This slaughter and calamitie fore-goes  
 Thy eminent destruction, wofull King.  
 This is the bloody Comet of thy woes,  
 That doth fore-tell thy present ruyning.  
 Here was thy ende decreed, when these men rose :  
 And euen with theirs, this act thy death did bring ;  
 Or hastened, at the least, vpon this ground :  
 Yet, if not this, another had beene found.

## 56

Kings (Lords of times and of occasions) may  
 Take their aduantage, when, and how they list :  
 For, now the Realme, he thought in this dismay,  
 T'auoyd like mischiefes, neither would resist,  
 Nor feele the wound at all ; since, by this way,  
 All future disturbances would defist ;  
 The roote cut off, from whence these tumults rose,  
 He should haue rest, the Common-wealth repofe.

## 57

He knew this time : and yet he would not seeme  
 Too quicke to wrath, as if affecting blood ;  
 But yet complaines so farre, that men might deeme  
 He would 'twere done, and that he thought it good :

St. 56, l. 1, ( ) accepted from ' : l. 2, 'May take th'' : l. 3, 'with these rebellions' : l. 4, 'Vext, and turmoyld, was thought would not' : l. 5, 'wound, when like confusions' : l. 6, 'Should by this meanes be stayd, as all men wist' : ll. 7-8—

' The cause be'ing once cut off, that did molest,  
 The land should haue her peace, and he his rest '.

And wisht that some would so his life esteeme,  
 As ridde him of these feares wherein he stood :  
 And there-with eyes a Knight,<sup>1</sup> that then was by ;  
 Who foone could learne his lesson, by his eye.

## 58

The man, he knew, was one that willingly  
 For one good looke would hazard foule and all ;  
 An instrument for any villanie,  
 That needed no commiſſion more at all :  
 A great ease to the King, that should, hereby,  
 Not neede in this a course of iustice call,  
 Nor seeme to wil the act : for, though what's wrought  
 Were his owne deed, he grieues should so be thought.

## 59

" So foule a thing (ô !) thou *Iniustice* art,  
 " That tort'rest both the dooer and distrest.  
 " For, when a man hath done a wicked part,  
 " How doth he striue t'excuse, to make the best,  
 " To shift the fault, t'vnburthen his charg'd hart,  
 " And glad to finde the least furmise of rest !  
 " And if he could make his, seeme others sin ;  
 " What great repose, what ease he findes therein !

## 60

This Knight ; but yet, why should I call him Knight,  
 To giue impietie this reuerent stile ?  
 Title of honour, worth, and vertues right,  
 Should not be giuen to a wretch so vile :

<sup>1</sup> This Knight was Sir Pierce of Exton.

St. 59, l. 4, 'O how he striues' : l. 8, 'O what repose'.

St. 60, l. 1, 'ô'.

But pardon me, if I do not aright :  
 It is because I will not here defile  
 My vnstaind verfe, with his opprobrious name,  
 And grace him so, to place him in the fame.

## 61

This caitife goes, and with him takes eight more  
 As desperate as himfelfe ; impioufly bold  
 (Such villaines, as he knew would not abhorre  
 To execute what wicked act he would)  
 And haftes him downe to *Pomfret* ; where, before,  
 The reftlefs King, conuaide, was laid in hold :  
 There would he do the deed, he thought should bring  
 To him great grace and fauour, with his King.

## 62

Whether the foule receiues intelligence,  
 By her neere *Genius*, of the bodies end  
 And fo impartes a sadneffe to the fenfe  
 Fore-going ruine, whereto it doth tend :  
 Or whether Nature elfe hath conference  
 With profound sleepe, and fo doth warning fend  
 By prophetizing dreames, what hurt is neere,  
 And giues the heauie careful hart to feare :

## 63

How-euer, fo it is, the now fad King  
 (Toft here and there, his quiet to confound)  
 Feeles a ftraunge waight of forrowes, gathering  
 Vpon his trembling hart, and fees no ground ;  
 Feeles fodaine terror bring cold fhiuering ;  
 Liftes not to eate, ftill mufes, fleepes vnfound ;  
 His fenfes droope, his fteady eyes vnquicke ;  
 And much he ayles ; and yet he is not ficke.

St. 60, l. 5, 'O' !.

## 64

The morning of that day, which was his last,  
 After a wearie rest ryfing to paine,  
 Out at a little grate his eyes he cast  
 Vpon those bordering hils, and open Plaine,  
 And viewes the towne, and sees how people past :  
 Where others libertie, makes him complaine  
 The more his owne, and grieues his foule the more ;  
 Conferring captiue-Crownes, with freedome poore.

## 65

" O happie man, sayth hee, that lo I see  
 " Grazing his cattle in those pleasant fieldes !  
 " If he but knew his good (how blessed hee,  
 " That feeles not what affliction Greatnes yeeldes !)  
 " Other then what hee is, he would not bee,  
 " Nor change his state with him that Scepters wieldes :  
 " Thine, thine is that true life ; That is to liue,  
 " To rest secure, and not rise vp to grieue.

## 66

" Thou sitst, at home, safe, by thy quiet fire,  
 " And hear'st of others harmes ; but feelest none :  
 " And there thou telst of Kings, and who aspire,  
 " Who fall, who rise, who triumphs, who do mone :  
 " Perhaps thou talkst of mee, and dost inquire  
 " Of my restraint, why here I liue alone,  
 " And pittiest this my miserable fall :  
 " For, pittie must haue part ; enuie, not all.

St. 65, l. 7, ' O thine is ' 1.

St. 66, ll. 7, 8—' O know tis others sin not my defart,

And I could wish I were but as thou art ' 1 :

\* as 1609 and our text.

## 67

" Thrice happy you that looke, as from the  
 shore,  
 " And haue no venture in the wracke you see ;  
 " No int'rest, no occasion to deplore  
 " Other mens trauailes, while your selues sit free.  
 " How much doth your sweet rest make vs the  
 more  
 " To see our miserie, and what we bee !  
 " Whose blinded Greatnes, euer in turmoyle,  
 " Still seeking happy life, makes life a toyle.

St. 67, l. 7, 'O . . . then with thy' '.

After st. 67 (= 66) come the two following :—

## 67.

But looke on mee, and note my troubled raigne,  
 Examine all the course of my vext life ;  
 Compare my little ioyes with my long paine,  
 And note my pleasures rare, my sorrowes rife ;  
 My childhood spent in others pride, and gaine,  
 My youth in daunger, farther yeares in strife  
 My courses croft, my deedes wrest to the worst,  
 My honour spoild, my life in daunger forst.

## 68.

This is my state, and this is all the good  
 That wretched I haue gotten by a crowne ;  
 This is the life that costes men so much bloud,  
 And more then bloud to make the same their owne :  
 O had not I then better beene t'haue stood  
 On lower ground, and safely liued vnknowne,  
 And beene a heardsman rather then a king ;  
 Which inexperience thinkes so sweet a thing.

These not in \*.

## 68

" Great *Dioclesian*<sup>1</sup> (and more great therefore  
 " For yeelding-vp that whereto pride aspires)  
 " Reckning thy Gardens in *Illiria* more  
 " Then all the Empire, all what th'earth admires ;  
 " Thou well didst teach, that he is neuer poore  
 " That little hath, but he that much desires ;  
 " Finding more true delight in that small ground,  
 " Then, in possessing all the earth, was found.

## 69

" Are Kings that freedome giue, themselues not free  
 " As meaner men, to take what they may giue ?  
 " What, are they of so fatall a degree,  
 " That they cannot descend from that, and liue ?  
 " Vnlesse they still be Kings can they not bee,  
 " Nor may they their authority suruiue ?  
 " Will not my yeelded Crowne redeeme my breath ?  
 " Still am I fear'd ? is there no way, but death ?

<sup>1</sup> *Primus imperium communicauit, & posuit Dioclesianus; & in eo ponendo, dixisse fertur; Recipe Iupiter imperium, quod mihi commodasti.*

St. 68, l. 1, 'O thou great *Monarch*' : l. 2, 'skorning . . . vaine' : l. 4, 'tookst those sweet retires' : l. 5, 'ð . . . not' : in \* as in 1609 and our text.

After st. 68 (= 69) comes the following in ' :—

' But what do I repeating others good,  
 To vexe mine owne perplexed soule the more ?  
 Alas how should I now free this poore bloud,  
 And care-worne body from this state restore ?  
 How should I looke for life or liuely-hood  
 Kept here distrest to die, condemned before,  
 A sacrifice prepared for his peace,  
 That can but by my death haue his release ?' (Not in \*.)

St. 69, l. 3, 'O'.

## 70

Scarce this word, Death, from Sorrow did proceed,  
 When in rusht one, and tels him, such a knight  
 Is new arriv'd, and comes from Court in speed.  
 What newes sayd he, with him, that traytrous wight?  
 What, more remouing yet? alas! what need?  
 Are we not farre ynough sent out of fight?  
 Or is this place, here, not sufficient strong  
 To guard vs in? or must we haue more wrong?

## 71

By this, the bloody troope were at the dore;  
 When-as a sodaine and a strange dismay  
 Inforc't them straine, who should go in before:  
 One offers, and in offering makes a stay:  
 An other forward sets, and doth no more:  
 A third the like, and none durst make the way:  
 So much the horror of so vile a deed,  
 In vilest mindes, deterres them to proceed.

## 72

At length, as to some great aduentrous fight,  
 This *Brauo* cheeres these dastards, all hee can;  
 And valiantly their courage doth incite,  
 And all against one weake vnarmed man:

St. 70, l. 2, 'how': l. 3, '. . . come from Court; his name deliured':  
 l. 4, 'with him said he': l. 5, 'remoues? must we be farther lead?':  
 l. 6, 'yet': l. 7, 'hath . . . not strength sufficient': l. 8, '. . . or haue  
 they worfe intent?':

St. 72, l. 1, 'assault the knight': l. 2, 'Cheeres vp his fainting men all  
 that':



A great exployte, and fit for such a knight ;  
Wherein, so much renowne his valor wan.  
But see, how men that verie Prefence feare,  
Which once, they knew, Authority did beare.

## 73

Then, on thrusts one, and he would formost be  
To shead anothers blood ; but lost his owne :  
For, entring in, as soone as he did see  
The face of Maiestie, to him well knowne ;  
Like *Marius* Souldier at *Minternum*, hee  
Stood still amaz'd, his courage ouer-throwne.  
The King, seeing this, starting frō where he fate,  
Out from his trembling hand his weapon gate.

## 74

Thus, euen his foes, who came to bring him death,  
Bring him a weapon, that before had none ;  
That yet he might not idly lose his breath,  
But die reueng'd, in action, not alone.  
And this good chaunce, that thus much fauoureth,  
He slackes not : for, he presently speedes one :  
And, Lion-like, vpon the rest he flyes :  
And here falles one, and there another lies.

## 75

And vp and down he trauerfes his ground ;  
Now wardes a felling blowe, now strikes againe,  
Then nimbly shiftes a thrust, then lends a wound,  
Now backe he giues, then rushes-on amaine.

St. 72, l. 5, ' . . . worthy a man of might ' : l. 6, ' Much honour wretch therein thy ' : l. 7, ' Ah poore weake prince, yet men that ' .

His quicke and ready hand doth so confound  
 These shamefull beastes, that foure of them lie flaine :  
 And all had perisht happily and well,  
 But for one act, that (ô !) I grieve to tell.

## 76

This coward Knight, seeing with shame and feare  
 His men thus flaine, and doubting his owne end,  
 Leapes vp into a chaire that (lo) was there,  
 The-whiles the King did all his courage bend  
 Against those foure, which now before him were,  
 Doubting not who behind him doth attend ;  
 And plyes his hands vndaunted, vnaffeard,  
 And with good heart, and life for life he stird.

## 77

And whiles he this, and that, and each mans blowe  
 Doth eye, defend, and shift, being layd-to fore,  
 Backward he beares for more aduantage now,  
 Thinking the wall would safegard him the more ;  
 When, lo, with impious hand, ô wicked thou,  
 That shamefull durst not come to strike before,  
 Behind him gav't that lamentable wound,  
 Which layd that wretched Prince flat on the ground.

## 78

Now, proditorious wretch, what hast thou done,  
 To make this barbarous base affassinate  
 Vpon the person of a Prince, and one  
 Fore-spent with sorrow, and all defolate ?

St. 76, l. 5, 'that' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 77, l. 7, 'wofull deadly' <sup>1</sup> : l. 8, 'that laid that most sweet' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 78, l. 1, 'Maister of men ô' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> : l. 2, 'Vnto an ouerpowred innocent' <sup>1</sup> : l. 3, 'Lab'ring against so many, he but' <sup>1</sup> : l. 4, 'And me poore foule with care, with sorrow spent' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>.

What great aduancement hast thou hereby wonne,  
By being the instrument to perpetrate  
So foule a deed? where is thy grace in Corte,  
For such a seruice, acted in this fort?

## 79

First, he for whom thou dost this villanie  
(Though pleas'd therewith) will not auouch thy fact,  
But let the weight of thine owne infamie  
Fall on thee, vnupported, and vnbackt:  
Then, all men else will loath thy treacherie,  
And thou thy selfe abhorre thy proper act:  
" So th' Wolfe, in hope the Lyons grace to win  
" Betraying other beastes, lost his owne skinne.

St. 78, ll. 5-8:—

' O could thy eies indure to looke vpon  
Thy hands disgrace, or didst thou then relent?  
But what thou didst I will not here deuine  
Nor straine my thoughts to enter into thine ' ':

In <sup>4</sup>, as st. 78, is the following:—

' But leaue thee wretch vnto black infamie  
To darke eternall horror, and disgrace,  
The hatefull skorne to all posteritie:  
The out-cast of the world, last of thy race.  
Of whose curst seed, nature did then deny  
To bring forth more, her faire workes to deface:  
And as asham'd to haue produc'd that past,  
She stayes her hand and makes this worst her last.'

After st. 78 (= 80) comes the following:—

## 82

There lies that comely body all imbrude  
With that pure bloud, must with that fowle be shed:  
O that those sacred streames with such vile rude  
Vnhallowed matter should be mingled!  
O why was grossenes with such grace indude,  
To be with that sweet mixture honoured?  
Or seru'd it but as some vile graue ordaind,  
Where an imbalmed corpes should be containd? (So in <sup>4</sup>.)

## 80

But now, as this sweet Prince distended lay,  
 And him nor Life, nor Death, their owne could call,  
 (For, Life, remouing, rid not all away ;  
 And Death, though entring, had not feif'd on all)  
 That fhort-tym'd motion had a little stay  
 {The mouer ceaſing) though it were but ſmall :  
 (As th'Organ-found, a time, ſuruiues the ſtop,  
 Before it doth the dying note giue vp).

## 81

When, lo, there ſtreames a ſpring of blood ſo faſt,  
 From thoſe deepe woundes, as all imbru'd the face  
 Of that accursed caytiue as he paſt  
 (After the deed effected) through the place :  
 And therewithall thoſe dying eyes did caſt  
 Such an vpbrayding looke on his diſgrace  
 (Seeming to checke ſo cowardly a part)  
 As left th'impreſſion euen in his hart.

St. 80, l. 1, 'Theſe faire diſtended limmes' : l. 2, 'When yet' : l. 3, 'remou'd had not rid' : l. 4, 'ſeaſ'd not yet' : l. 5, '... that ſoone finiſh ſhall' : l. 6, '... yet a while doth ſtay'.

After st. 80 (= 83) in <sup>1</sup> comes this stanza :—

## 84.

So holdes thoſe organs of that goodly frame  
 The weake remaines of life a little ſpace ;  
 But ah full ſoone cold Death poſſeſſt the ſame ;  
 Set are thoſe fun-like eies, bloudleſſe that face,  
 And all that comely whole a lump became,  
 All that faire forme which Death could ſcarce diſgrace,  
 Lies periſht thus ; and thus vntimely fate  
 Hath finiſht his moſt miſerable ſtate.

St. 81 not in <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>.

## 82

And thus one King, most neere in bloud ally'd,  
 Is made th'oblation for the others peace.  
 Which peace yet was not hereby ratifi'd  
 So, as it could all future feares release.  
 For, though the other did forthwith prouide  
 To haue the rumour run of his decease,  
 By drawing the corps to *London*,<sup>1</sup> where it was  
 Layd (three dayes to be seene) with open face :

## 83

Yet, so great was this execrable deed,  
 As men would scarce therein belieue their eyes ;  
 Much lesse their eares : and many sought to feed  
 The easie creditours of nouelties,  
 By voycing him aliue<sup>2</sup> ; how hee was freed  
 By strange escape out of his miseries :  
 And many did conspire now to relieue  
 Him dead, who had forfaken him aliue.

<sup>1</sup> The Corps was conuayed from Pomfret to Londō : where it lay with open face in Paules, 3 dayes ; and after a solemne obsequie, was had to Langley and there meanelly interred.

<sup>2</sup> K. Ric. bruted to be aliue after he was thus murdered : which begat a Conspiracie ; for the which, Sir Roger Clarindon, supposed to be the base sonne of the blacke Prince was executed, with diuers Friers.

St. 82, l. 1, 'thus' accepted from <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, for 'this' of 1609 and our text :

ll. 3-8—' Now onely one, both name and all befi  
 Intirely hath, plurality doth cease :  
 He that remaines, remaines vnterrifide  
 With others right ; this day doth all release :  
 And henceforth he is absolutely king,  
 No crownes but one, this deed confirms the thing.' (So <sup>2</sup>.)

St. 83—91 not in <sup>1</sup>. See 11, 15 & 20.

## 84

And many suffred for his Cause, when now  
He had none : many wisht for him againe,  
When they perceiv'd th'exchange did not allow  
Their hopes so much as they did looke to gaine,  
By traffiquing of kings ; and all saw how  
Their full exspectances were in the wane.  
They had a King was more then him before ;  
But yet a king, where they were nought the more.

## 85

And sure, this murdered Prince, though weake he was,  
He was not ill ; nor yet so weake, but that  
He shew'd much Martiall valour in his place,  
Aduentring oft his perfon for the State :  
And might amongst our better Princes paste ;  
Had not the flatterie, rapine, and debate  
Of factious Lords and greedie Officers  
Disgrac't his actions, and abus'd his yeares.

## 86

Nor is it so much Princes weakenesses,  
As the corruption of their Ministers,  
Wherby the Common-wealth receiues distres.  
For, they, attending their particulars,  
Make imperfections their aduantages  
To be themselues both Kings and Councillors.  
And, sure, this Common-wealth can neuer take  
Hurt by weake kings, but such as we doo make.

## 87

Besides, he was (which people much respect  
 In Princes, and which pleases vulgarly)  
 Of goodly personage, and of sweete aspect,  
 Of milde acceffe, and liberalitie ;  
 And feastes, and shewes, and triumphs did affect,  
 As the delights of youth and iollitie :  
 But, here, the great profusion and expence  
 Of his reuenues, bred him much offence <sup>1</sup> :

## 88

And gaue aduantage vnto enmitie,  
 This grieuous accusation to prefer ;  
 " That he consum'd the common Treasurie :  
 " Whereof he being the simple vsager  
 " But for the State (not in proprietie)  
 " Did alien at his pleasure, and transfer  
 " The same t'his minions, and to whome hee list ;  
 " By which, the Common-wealth was to subsist.

## 89

" Whereby, sayd they, the poore concussed State  
 " Shall euer be exacted for supplyes.  
 Which accusation was th'occasion, that  
 His successefour by order nullifies <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hee had in his Court 1000. persons in ordinarie allowance of diet, 300. seruitours in his Kitchin, aboue 300. Ladies Chamberers, and Landerers . His apparell was sumptuous ; and so was it generally, in his time : hee had one Cote of gold and stone, valued at 30000. markes. One enteruiew with the Fr. King at Ards, when his wife Isabel was deliuered vnto him, cost 300000. markes.

<sup>2</sup> Hen. 4. reuoketh al letters patents of Annuities granted by K. Ed. and K. Ric. Ann. reg. 6.

Many his Patents, and did reuocate  
 And reassume his liberalities :  
 And yet, for all these waistes, these gifts and feasts,  
 He was not found a Bankrupt in his chests.<sup>1</sup>

## 90

But they, who tooke to Syndicque in this forte  
 The Actions of a Monarch, knew those things  
 Wherein the accountps were likely to fall short  
 Betweene the State of Kingdomes, and their Kings :  
 Which prefident, of pestilent import  
 (Had not the heauens blest thy indeuourings)  
 Against thee *Henry*, had beene likewise brought,  
 Th'example made of thy example wrought.

## 91

For, though this bountie, and this liberalnes,  
 A glorious vertue be ; it better fits  
 Great men, then kings : who, giuing in excesse,  
 Giue not their owne, but others benefits :  
 Which calles-vp manies hopes, but pleasures lesse ;<sup>2</sup>  
 Destroying far more loue, then it begets.  
 For, Iustice is their Virtue : that alone  
 Makes them fit sure, and glorifies the Throne.

<sup>1</sup> When he was first surpris'd in Wales, the D. of Lancaster had in Hole Castle 100000 markes in coyne, and 200000, markes in Iewels : and at his Resignation in the Towre, 300000 poûds in coyne, besides plate and Iewels.

<sup>2</sup> A Prince, exceffiue in gifts, makes his subiects exceffiue in futes.

*The ende of the third Booke.*





# THE FOURTH BOOKE.<sup>1</sup>

## THE ARGVMENT.

*King Henrie, his excuses publishes  
For Richards death ; and truce doth intertaine  
With France. The Scots, aggriev'd for wrongs, address  
Themselves to warre ; and are appeas'd againe.  
The Welsh rebel. The Percies practises  
(To parte the State) are stoppt, in battell slaine.  
Continuall troubles still afflict this King ;  
Till Death an end doth to his t'auailes bring.*

## I



He bounds once ouer-gone, that hold  
men in,  
They neuer stay ; but on, from bad  
to worfe.  
“ Wrongs do not leaue off there,  
where they begin ;  
“ But, still beget new mischiefes in  
their course.

Now, *Henrie*, thou hast added to thy sinne  
Of vsurpation, and intruding force,

<sup>1</sup> The ‘Fovrth Booke,’ as given here, first thus appeared in 1609. Originally—i.e. in 1595 and in 1599, 1601–1602—the ‘Fovrth Booke’ consisted of what is now the ‘Fifth’ (on which see Note at commencement of it).

A greater crime; which makes ~~that~~ gone before  
T'apppeare more then it did, and noted more.

## 2

For, now thou art inforc't t'apologise  
With forraine States,<sup>1</sup> for two enormous things,  
Wherein, thou dost appeare to scandalise  
The publike Right, and common Cause of Kings :  
Which, though (with all the skill thou canst deuise)  
Thou ouerlay'ft with fayrest colourings ;  
Yet th'vnder-worke, transparent, shewes too plaine.  
" Where open acts accuse, th'excuse is vaine.

## 3

And these defences, are but complements,  
To dallie with confining Potentates ;  
Who, busied in their proper gouernments,  
Do seldome tend th'affaires of other States :  
Their wisdome, which to present powre consents,  
Liue-dogges before dead Lyons, estimates :  
" And no man more respects these publike wrongs,  
" Then so much as t'his priuate state belongs.

## 4

Yet, most it seem'd the French King to import ;  
As sharer in his daughters iniurie :  
" Though bloud, in Princes, links not in such sort,  
" As that it is of any powre to tye,  
Where their estates may seeme t'aduenture hurt ;  
Or where there is not a necessitie,  
That doth combine them with a stronger chaine,  
Then all these great Alliances containe.

<sup>1</sup> Commissioners are sent to forraine Princes, to excuse & iustifie the Kings proceedings.

## 5

For, though this King might haue repentment,  
 And will, t'auenge him of this iniurie :  
 Yet, at that time, his State being turbulent,<sup>1</sup>  
 Factious, and full of partialitie,  
 And oftentimes he himselfe impotent,  
 By meanes of his Phreneticque maladie ;  
 It was not likely, any good could rise  
 By vndertaking fuch an enterprife.

## 6

And therefore both fides, vpon entercourfe  
 (As fitted best their present termes) agreed,  
 The former truce continue should in force,<sup>2</sup>  
 According as it had beene fore-decreed  
 Vpon the match with *Richard* ; and a course  
 For *Isabel* (with all conuenient speed)  
 Prouided, with an honorable Traine  
 Suting her state, to be sent home againe.

## 7

Whome willingly they would haue still retain'd,  
 And matcht vnto the Prince <sup>3</sup> : but shee (though yong ;  
 Yet sensible of that which appertain'd  
 To honor, and renowne) scorn'd any tongue  
 That offred such a motion ; and disdaynd  
 To haue it thought, she would but heare that wrong

<sup>1</sup> In this time of Charles 6. began the ciuile warres in Fraunce, between the Dukes of Orleans, and Burgoigne.

<sup>2</sup> The Truce made with Ric. 2. renewd for 30. yeares : but broken the next yeare after, vpon their part ; sending Iaques de Burbon, with forces into Wales, to the ayde of Glendour.

<sup>3</sup> The King labors to haue Q. Isabel matcht to his sonne Henry, Prince of Wales.

Mov'd to her, of her Lord, and husband dead,  
To haue his murtherers race inioy his bed.

## 8

Befides ; the French (doubting the Gouernment,  
Thus gotten, would be subiect still to strife)  
Not willing were to vrge her to consent  
T'accept a troublous, and vncertaine life :  
And, being returnd, she grew in th'end content  
To be (at home) a Duke of *Orleance* wife<sup>1</sup> ;  
Scap't from such stormes of powre, holding it best  
To be belowe her selfe, to be at rest.

## 9

And so hath *Henrie* assur'd that fide,  
And therewithall his State of *Gasconie*<sup>2</sup> :  
Which, on th'intelligence was notifi'd  
Of *Richards* death, were wrought to mutinie ;  
And hardly came to be repacifi'd,  
And kept to hold in their fidelitie :  
So much, to him were they affectioned,  
For hauing beene amongst them borne and bred.

## 10

These toyles abrode, these tumults with his owne  
(As if the frame of all disioynted were,  
With this disordred shifting of the Crowne)  
Fell, in the reuolution of one yeare.  
Beside ; the Scotte (in discontentment growne,  
For the detayning, and supporting here,

<sup>1</sup> Queene Isabel was married to Charles, sonne to Loyse, D. of Orleans.

<sup>2</sup> Thom. Percy E. of Worcester was sent into Gascony with 200. men at Armes and 400. Archers, to assist Sir Robert knoles Lieutenant there : where he pacified that Country, being incensed by the French to reuolt vpon their discontentment for the death of King Ric. whom they especially loued for being borne at Burdeaux.

The scourge of all that kingdome, *George Dunbar*<sup>1</sup>)  
With fire and sword, proclaymes an open war ;

## I I

Taking their time, in these disturbances  
And newnesse of a wauering Gouernment,  
T'auenge them of their former grieuances,  
And by our spoyles their fortunes to augment.  
Against whose forces, *Henry* furnishes  
A powrefull Army, and in person went ;  
But warres with a retyring enemy,  
With much more trauaile then with victorie.

## I 2

And, being (by sharp, deformed Winters force)  
Caus'd to retire, he findes new stormes at home,  
From other Coasts aryfing ; that prov'd worfe  
Then those, which now hee was returned from.  
In *WVales*, a Cause of Law, by violent courfe,  
Was (from a variance) now a warre become ;  
And *Owen Glendour*,<sup>2</sup> who with *Gray* of late  
Contests for priuate landes, now seekes a State.

## I 3

Whom to repressse, he early in the Spring,  
With all prouisions fit, doth forward fet ;  
When straight his enemies (not purposing  
To hazard battaile) to the mountaines get.

<sup>1</sup> George Dunbar, E. of March, flying out of Scotland, was receiued and cherished in England, and warred against his Country.

<sup>2</sup> Owen Glendour, an Esquire in North-Wales, contesting with the L. Gray of Ruthen, for certaine landes which hee claymed by inheritance ; and being not powerful inough by his owne meanes to recouer them, procur'd force and made war vpon the L. Gray ; and after attempts for the principalitie of that Country. Ann. Reg. 2.

Where, after long and weary trauayling,  
 Without performing any great defeat,  
 He onely their prouisions wastes, and burnes,  
 And with some prey of Cattell home returnes.

## 14

Wherewith, the Rebell rather was the more  
 Incourag'd, then addaunted ; and begun  
 T'adventure farther then he did before ;  
 Seeing such a Monarch had so little done,  
 Being com'n in person, with so great a powre,  
 And sodainely againe retyr'd and gone,  
 " For, in this case, they helpe, who hurt so small ;  
 " And he hath nothing done, that doth not all.

## 15

But now <sup>1</sup> (behold) other new heads appeare,  
 New *Hydra's* of rebellion, that procure  
 More worke to doo, and giue more cause of feare ;  
 And shew'd, that nothing in his State stood sure.  
 And these, euen of his chiefeft followers were,  
 Of whome he might presume him most secure ;  
 Who had th'especiall ingins beene, to reare  
 His fortunes vp, vnto the State they were.

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg. 3.

St. 15 onward form st. 86—132 of Book III. in <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> (except the added stanzas intercalated, and which will be recognised from having no various readings), with various readings as from <sup>1</sup>: ll. 1-4—

' And yet new *Hydraes* lo, new heades appeare  
 T'afflict that peace reputed then so sure,  
 And gaue him much to do, and much to feare,  
 And long and daungerous tumults did procure <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>:

1. 5, 'those' <sup>1</sup>: ll. 7, 8—

' Who whether not so grac'd or so preferd  
 As they expected, these new factions stir'd' <sup>1</sup>.

## 16

The *Percies* were the men ; men of great might,  
 Strong in alliance, and in courage strong :  
 Who now conspire ; vnder pretence to right  
 Such wrongs, as to the Common wealth belong :  
 Vrg'd, either through their conscience, or despight,  
 Or finding now the part they tooke was wrong :  
 Or else Ambition hereto did them call,  
 Or others enuy'd grace ; or, rather, all.

## 17

And such they were, who might presume t'haue done  
 Much for the king, and honour of the State ;  
 Hauing the chiefeſt actions vnder-gone,  
 Both forraine and domesticall of late :  
 Beside that famous day of *Homeldon*<sup>1</sup> ;  
 Where *Hotſpur* gaue that wonderfull defeat  
 Vnto the Scottes, as shooke that kingdome more  
 Then many Monarchs armies had before.

## 18

Which might perhaps aduance their mindes, so farre  
 About the leuell of subiection, as  
 T'assume to them the glory of that war ;  
 Where all things, by their powre, were brought to passe :

<sup>1</sup> In this battell of Homeldon, the L. Hen. Percie, surnamed Hot-spur, accompanied with George Dunbar E. of March, ouerthrew the Scottish forces : where were slaine 23 Knights and 10000 of the Cōmons : the E. E. of Fife, Murry, Angus, with 500. other of meaner degree, taken prisoners.

St. 16, l. 3, 'That thus': l. 4, 'The crooked courſes they had suffered long': l. 5, 'Whether their conscience vrged them': l. 6, '. . . that they ſaw': l. 7, 'that.'

After st. 16 (= 87) comes st. 20 (= 88), where see various readings. So st. 89 of <sup>1</sup> is st. 21 of our text, where also see various readings, and so onward.

They, being so mightie, and so popular,  
 And their command so spacious as it was,  
 Might (in their State) forget, how all these things  
 That subiects doo effect, must be their Kings.

## 19

And so fell after into discontent,  
 For that the king requir'd to haue, as his,  
 Those Lords were taken prisioners ; whome they ment  
 To hold still as their proper purchases :  
 Then, that he would not, at their sute, consent  
 To worke their Cofin *Mortimers* release,  
 Out of the Rebell *Owen Glendour's* hands ;  
 Who held him prisoner, in disgracefull bands.

## 20

But be, what will, the cause ; strong was their plot.  
 Their parties great, meanes good, the season fit,  
 Their practice close, their faith suspected not,  
 Their states far off, and they of wary wit :  
 Who, with large promises, so wooe the Scot  
 To aide their Cause, as he consents to it ;  
 And glad was to disturne that furious streame  
 Of warre, on vs, that else had swallowed them.

## 21

Then ioyne they with the Welsh ; who, now wel  
 In Armes and action dayly grew more great. [train'd,

St. 20, l. 1, 'What cause soeuer were' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>: l. 2, 'th'occasion' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>:  
 l. 5, 'draw in' <sup>1</sup>: l. 6, 'he likes, and yeeldes' <sup>1</sup>: ll. 7, 8—

'Not for the loue of them, or for their good,  
 But glad hereby of meanes to shed our bloud' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 21, l. 1, 'fitly' <sup>1</sup>: ll. 2, 3—

'And all in armes vnder a mightie head  
 Grea *Glendour*, who long warr'd, and . . .'



Their Leader, by his wiles, had much attaynd,  
 And done much mischiefe on the English State :  
 Befide, his prifoner *Mortimer* he gain'd  
 From being a foe, to b'his confederate ;  
 A man the King much fear'd : and well he might ;  
 Leaft he fhould looke whether his Crowne flood right.

## 22

For, *Richard* (for the quiet of the State)  
 Before he tooke thofe Irish warres in hand,  
 About Succelfion doth deliberate :  
 And, finding how the certaine Right did ftand,  
 With full confent this man did ordinate  
 The heyre apparent to the Crowne and Land ;<sup>1</sup>  
 Whofe competencie was of tender touch :  
 Although his might was fmall, his right was much.

## 23

With thefe, the *Percies* them confederat,  
 And (as three heads) conioyne in one intent :  
 And (inftituting a Triumvirate)  
 Do part the Land, in triple gouernment ;

<sup>1</sup> In the 9. yeere of the raigne of King Richard 2. was by Parlement ordained Roger E. of March, heir apparent to the Crowne. This Roger was the fonne of Edmond Mortimer, who married Phillippa the only daughter of Leonel D. of Clarence, the third fon of King Ed. 3. who by her had iffue this Roger & Elizabeth : Roger had iffue 4. children, all which, faue only Anne, dying without iffue : Anne was married to Rich. E. of Cambridge, fecond fonne to Edmond D. of Yorke. This Rich. beheaded at Southampton, had iffue by Anne, Richard, furnamed Plantagenet, after Duke of Yorke.

St. 21, ll. 4-6—' Sharp conflicts made, and many vanquifhed  
 With whom was *Edmond Earle* of March retaind ;  
 Being firft his prifoner, now confedered.'

St. 22, l. 7, ' Then iudge of this the king might merely ' 1.

Diuiding thus, among themfelues, the State :  
 The *Percies* should rule all the North, from *Trent* ;  
 And *Glendour*, *VVales* ; the Earle of *March* should be  
 Lord of the South, from *Trent*: and so they 'gree.<sup>1</sup>

## 24

Then, those faire bayts these Trouble-States still vse  
 (*Pretence of common good*, the Kings ill Courfe)  
 Must be cast forth, the people to abuse,  
 And giue their Cause, and them, the better force.  
 The king, for tyranny, they doo accuse,  
 By whom the State was growne from bad to worfe ;  
 A periur'd man, who held all faith in scorne:  
 Whose trusted Oathes had others made forsworne.

## 25

And, therewithal, the execrable act,  
 On their late murdered King, they aggrauate :  
 How he imploy'd the dooers of the fact,  
 Whom afterwards hee did remunerate :  
 And dayly such taxations did exact,  
 As were against the Order of the State ;

<sup>1</sup> The Percies article against Hen. 4. Ann. Reg. 4.

St. 23, l. 8, 'thus'.

St. 24, l. 1, 'two helpes which still such actors find' : l. 2, 'disgrace' : l. 3, 'Doth fit their course, and draw the vulgar mind' : l. 4, 'To further them and aide them in this case' : l. 5, 'They accus'd for cruell, and vnkind' : l. 6, 'That did . . . and crowne, and all deface'.

St. 25, l. 1, 'Besides the odious detestable' : l. 2, 'that' : l. 3, 'Making it his that so had will'd' : l. 4, 'That he the doers' : l. 5, 'Then . . . taxes daily doth' : l. 6, 'That . . . orders'.

Prefuming, those great summes hee did impofe,  
About his priuate vſes to diſpoſe :

## 26

And how he was inuironed with ſuch  
As had poſſeſt him ; and in ſlanderous fort  
Accuſ'd them ſo, as they durſt not approche  
To cleare themſelues of ſuch vniuſt report :  
And, thereupon, they flatly diſauouch  
To yeld him more obedience, or ſupport :  
And, as t'a periurd Duke of *Lancaſter*,  
Their Cartell of Defiance they preferre ;

## 27

Proteſting, theſe obiections to make good,  
With ſword in hand, and to confirme and ſeale  
Their vndertaking, with their deareſt bloud,  
As Procurators for the Common-weale :  
And that vpon their Conſciences it ſtood,  
And did import their dutie and their zeale  
Vnto the State, as Peeres, to ſee redreſt  
Thoſe miſeries wherewith it was oppreſt.

St. 25, ll. 7, 8—

' And with all theſe or worſe they him affaild  
Who late of others with the like preuaild ' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>.

After ſt. 25 (= 93) comes the following in <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> :—

' Thus doth contentious proud mortality  
Afflict each other and itſelfe torment :  
And thus o thou mind-tortring miſery  
Reſtleſ ambition, borne in diſcontent,  
Turn, ſtand, reſoſeſt with iniquity,  
The vnconſtant courſes frailty did inuent :  
And ſow'ſt faire order and deſilt the earth,  
Foſtring vp warre, father of bloud and dearth ' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 27 not in <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>.

II.

## 28

Great seem'd their Cause : and greatly, too, did adde  
 The peoples loue thereto, these crymes impof'd ;  
 That many gathered to the troupes they had,  
 And many sent them aide though vndisclof'd :  
 So that, the King, with all maine speed, was glad  
 Both by his remonstrances well compof'd,  
 And with his sword (his best defence) prouide  
 To right himfelfe, and to correct their pride :

## 29

Divulging, first, a fayre Apologie  
 Of his cleere heart, touching the foule report  
 Of that affaffinate : which vtterly  
 He doth abiure ; protesting, in no sort  
 T'agree thereto, in will or priuitie :  
 And, how he had beene vsed to extort,  
 The State could witnesse best ; by whose consent  
 Was granted what he had, in Parlement.

## 30

Which neuer was, but onely one supply,  
 In foure yeares troublous and expenfiue Raigne :  
 And that, vpon extreame necessitie,  
 The safetie of the publicke to maintaine :  
 And that the *Percies* best could testifie,  
 How most that mony issued was, againe ;

St. 28, l. 1, 'the' : l. 2, 'reheart' : l. 4, 'More do flocke from corts  
 disperst' : ll. 5-8—

' But when the King had heard these neuer so bad,  
 Th'vnlookt for dangerous toyle more nearly perft  
 For bêt t'wards *Wales* t'appease those tumults there,  
 H'is for't diuert his courfe, and then forbear.'

St. 29—32 not in '.

To whom the fame was rendred, to the end  
To warre the Scot, and Borders to defend :

## 31

And that the rest was, to the same effect  
For which it was obtaynd, in like sort spent.  
And where-as they did slanderously obiekt,  
How that they durst not hazard to present  
In person their defences, in respect  
He was incens'd by some maleuolent ;  
It was most false : for, he knew no defence  
They were to make, till now they made offence.

## 32

And how far, he had been, from cruelty,  
Both *VVales*, and *Scotland* could him witnes beare ;  
Where, those effects of his great clemencie,  
In sparing bloud, do to his cost appeare :  
Much more, his subiects finde his lenitie ;  
Whose loue he seekes to haue, and not their feare.  
“ But thus, said he, they euer do pretend  
“ To haue receiv'd a wrong, who wrong intend.

## 33

Not to giue time vnto th'increasing rage,  
And gathering furie, forth hee marcht with speed ;  
Least more delay, or giuing longer age  
To th'euill growne, it might the cure exceed.  
All his best men at Armes, and Leaders sage,  
All he prepar'd hee could ; and all did need.  
For, to a mighty worke thou goest, ô King,  
That equall spirits, and equall powres shal bring.

St. 33, l. 8, ' To such a field that power to power ' 1.

## 34

There shall young *Hotspur*, with a fury led,  
 Ingrapple with thy sonne, as fierce as hee :  
 There Martiall *VVorster*, long experienced  
 In forraine armes, shall come t'incounter thee.  
 There *Douglas*, to thy *Stafford*, shall make head :  
 There *Vernon*, for thy valiant *Blunt*, shall be.  
 There, shalt thou finde a doubtfull bloody day ;  
 Though sickenefse keep *Northumberland* away.

## 35

Who yet reserv'd (though, after, quit for this)  
 Another tempest on thy head to rayse ;  
 As if, still, wrong-reuenging *Nemesis*  
 Meant to afflict all thy continuing dayes :  
 And here this field hee happely doth misse,  
 For thy great good ; and therefore well hee staves.  
 What might his force haue done, being brought thereto,  
 When that already, gaue so much to doo ?

## 36

The swift approche, and vnexpected speed,  
 The King had made vpon this new-ray'd force,<sup>1</sup>  
 In th'vnconfirmed troupes, much feare did breed,  
 Vntimely hind'ring their intended course :

St. 34, l. 2, 'Meete with thy forward' : l. 3, 'warlike' : l. 4, 'The son to the Earle of Northumberland'.

St. 35, l. 4, 'Did meane t'afflict all thy continuall' : l. 5, 'yet . . . might' : l. 7, 'ioynd'.

<sup>1</sup> The K. hastened forward by George Dunbar, was in fight of his enemies lying in Campe neer to Shrewsburie, sooner then hee was expected : for the Percies supposed he would haue stayde longer then hee did, at Burton vpon Trent, for the comming of his Councell with other forces which were there to meete him. Whereupon they left to assaile the Towne of Shrewsbury ; and prepared to encounter the kings forces. Ann. Reg. 4.

The ioyning with the Welsh (they had decreed)  
Was hereby dasht ; which made their Cause the worfe :  
*Northumberland*, with forces from the North,  
Expected to be there, was not set forth.

## 37

And yet, vndaunted *Hotspur*, seeing the King  
So neere arriv'd ; leauing the worke in hand,  
With forward speed his forces marshalling,  
Sets forth, his farther comming to withstand :  
And, with a cheerefull voyce encouraging  
His well experienc't and aduentrous Band,  
Brings on his Army, eger vnto fight ;  
And plac't the same, before the King in fight.

## 38

" This day (faith he) my valiant trusty friendes,  
" What-euer it doth giue, shal glory giue ;  
" This day, with honor, frees our State, or endes  
" Our misery with fame, that still shal liue :  
" And doo but thinke, how well the same he spends,  
" Who spends his blood, his Country to relieue.  
" What ? haue we hands, and shall we seruile bee ?  
" Why were swordes made ? but, to preferue men free.

St. 36, l. 6, 'Stopt . . . part'.

St. 37, l. 2, 'approch'd' : l. 6, 'By his great spirit his well imboldned' :

l. 7, ' . . . a strong host of forme resolued might' : l. 8, ' . . . his troupes'.

St. 38, l. 1, 'ô faithfull valiaunt' : st. 38—42 not in 1 : l. 5, 'this day' :

ll. 7, 8—'Our holie cause, our freedome and our right,  
Sufficient are to moue good mindes to fight'.

## 39

Befides, th'affured hope of victorie,  
Which we may euen promise on our side,  
Against this weake constrayned company ;  
Whom force and feare, not will and loue doth guide :  
Against a Prince, whose foul impiety  
The heauens doo hate, the earth cannot abide :  
Our number being no lesse, our courage more,  
No doubt we haue it, if wee worke therefore.

## 40

This sayd, and thus resolv'd, euen bent to charge  
Vpon the King ; who well their order view'd,  
And wary noted all the course at large  
Of their proceeding, and their multitude :  
And deeming better, if he could discharge  
The day with safetie, and some peace conclude,  
Great proffers fendes of pardon and of grace  
If they would yeeld, and quietnesse imbrace.<sup>1</sup>

## 41

Which though his feares might driue him to propose,  
To time his bufinesse, for some other ende ;  
Yet, sure, hee could not meane t'haue peace with those,  
Who did in that supream degree offend :

<sup>1</sup> The Abbot of Shrewsbury and one of the Clerks of the priuie seale were set from the K. to the Percies to offer them pardon if they wold come to any reasonable agreement. Wherupon the E. of Worcester comming to the K. receiued many kind proffers : and promising to moue his Nephew therin, did at his returne, as is sayd, conceale them, and hastened on the battel ; which was fought neer Shrewsbury. An. Reg. 4.

St. 39, l. 2, 'euen promise' accepted from <sup>1</sup>, for 'fore-promise' of 1609 and '23 : l. 8, 'What need we doubt' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 40, l. 3, 'carefull . . . forme' <sup>1</sup>.



Nor were they such, as would bee wonne with shoves ;  
 Or breath of oathes, or vowes could apprehend :  
 So that in honor, th'offers, he doth make,  
 Were not for him to giue, nor them to take.

## 42

And yet this much his courses doo approue,  
 He was not bloudy, in his Naturall ;  
 And yeeld he did to more, then might behoue  
 His dignitie, to haue dispenst withall :  
 And, vnto *VVorster*, hee himselfe did moue  
 A reconcilment to be made of all :  
 But *VVorster*, know'ing it could not be secur'd,  
 His Nephews on-set (yet for all) procur'd.

## 43

Which seeing the King (with greater wrath incenst)  
 Rage, against furie, doth with speede prepare.  
 And though, sayd he, I could haue wel dispenst  
 With this dayes bloud, which I haue fought to spare ;  
 That greater glory might haue recompens  
 The forward worth of these, that so much dare ;  
 That we might good haue had by th'ouerthrowne,  
 And th'wounds we make, might not haue beene our  
 owne :

## 44

Yet, since that other mens iniquitie  
 Calles-on the sword of wrath, against my will ;  
 And that themselues exact this crueltye,  
 And I constrayned am this bloud to spill ;

St. 43, l. 1, 'But this refusd . . . with wrath' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>: l. 3, 'ô faith . . .  
 though I could haue' <sup>1</sup>: l. 7, 'honor had' <sup>1</sup>: l. 8, 'That' <sup>1</sup>.

Then on, braue followers, on courageously,  
 True-harted subiects, against traytors ill:  
 And spare not them, who seeke to spoyle vs all  
 Whose foul confused end, soone see you shal.

## 45

Forth-with, began these fury-mouing founds,  
 The notes of wrath, the musicke brought from Hell,  
 The ratling Drums (which trumpets voyce confounds)  
 The cryes, th'incouragements, the shouting shrill;  
 That, all about, the beaten ayre rebounds  
 Confused thundring-murmurs horrible;  
 To robbe all sence, except the sence to fight.  
 Well hands may worke: the minde hath lost his fight.

## 46

O warre! begot in pride and luxurie,  
 The child of malice, and reuengeful hate;  
 Thou impious good, and good impietie,  
 That art the foul refiner of a State;

St. 44, l. 5, 'my maisters' <sup>1</sup>.

After st. 44 (= 105) comes this in <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>:—

## 106.

'Straight moues with equall motion equall rage  
 The like incensed armies vnto blood,  
 One to defend, another fide to wage  
 Foule ciuill war; both vowes their quarrel good:  
 All the mad heate the bloud doth now inrage  
 Both who the deed prouokes and who withstood,  
 That valor here is vice, here manhood fin;  
 The forwardst hands doth & least honor win':

l. 5, 'the' is misprinted 'to.'

St. 45, l. 1, 'But now begin' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>: l. 4, 'shrell' <sup>1</sup>: l. 6, 'Thundring  
 confused' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 46, l. 2, 'wrath and of diffention' <sup>1</sup>: ll. 3, 4—

'Horrible good; mischief necessarye,  
 The foule reformer of confusion' <sup>1</sup>:

Vniust-iust scourge of mens iniquitie,  
 Sharpe-easer of corruptions desperate ;  
 Is there no meanes but that a fin-ficke Land  
 Must be let bloud with such a boyfterous hand ?

## 47

How well mightst thou haue, here beene spar'd this  
 Had not wrong-counfailld *Percy* beene peruerse ? [day,  
 Whofe forward hand, inur'd to woundes, makes way  
 Vpon the sharpest fronts of the most fierce :  
 Where now an equall furie thrusts to stay  
 And backe-repell that force, and his disperse :  
 Then these assaile, then those re-chafe againe,  
 Till stayd with new-made hils of bodies flaine.

## 48

There, lo that new-appearing glorious starre,  
 Wonder of Armes, the terror of the field,  
 Young *Henrie*,<sup>1</sup> laboring where the stoutest are,  
 And euen the stoutest forceth backe to yeeld ;  
 There is that hand boldned to bloud and warre,  
 That must the sword, in wondrous actions, wield :  
 Though better, he had learnd with others bloud ;  
 A lesse expence to vs, to him more good.

St. 46, l. 5, 'our' : l. 6, 'Cruell recurer of corruption' : ll. 7, 8—

'O that these fin-ficke states in need should stand,  
 To be let bloud with such a boystrous hand'.

St. 47, l. 1, 'And o how well thou hadst' : 'And how well hadst  
 thou' : l. 3, 'Yong vndanger'd hand now rash makes way' : l. 6,  
 'rebat-backe'.

<sup>1</sup> Prince Henry, at this Battel, was not 17 yeares of age.

St. 48, l. 8, 'thee'.

## 49

Yet here had he not speedy succour lent  
 To his indangered father, neere opprest,  
 That day had seene the full accomplishment  
 Of all his trauailes, and his finall rest :  
 For, *Mars-like Douglas* all his forces bent  
 T'incounter, and to grapple with the best ;  
 As if disdayning any other thing  
 To doo, that day, but to subdue a King.

## 50

And three, with fierie courage, he affailes ;  
 Three, all as kings adordnd in royall wife :  
 And each successiue after other quailles ;  
 Still wondring, whence so many Kings should rise.

St. 49, l. 1, 'Hadst thou not there lent present speedy ayd' : l. 2,  
 'they . . . nerely tyrde' : ll. 3, 4—

'Whom fierce incountring *Douglas* overlaid,  
 That day had there his troublous life expirde' :

ll. 5, 6—'Heroycall Couragious *Blunt* araid  
 In habite like as was the king attirde,  
 And deem'd for him, excusd that fate with his,  
 For he had what his Lord did hardly misse.'

In margin 'Which was sir Walter Blunt.'

After st. 49 (= 111) comes this in ' :—

'For thought a king, he would not now disgrace  
 The perfon then fuppof'd, but prince-like shewes  
 Glorious effects of worth that fit his place,  
 And fighting dyes, and dying ouerthrowes :  
 Another of that forward name and race  
 In that hotte work his valiant life bestowes ;  
 Who bare the standard of the king that day,  
 Whose colours ouerthrowne did much difmaie.'

In margin 'Another Blunt which was the king's Standard-bearer.'

St. 50—52 not in '.

And, doubting left his hand or eye-fight fayles,  
 In these confounded, on a fourth hee flyes,  
 And him vnhorfes too : whom had hee sped,  
 He then all Kings, in him, had vanquished.

## 51

For *Henrie* had diuided, as it were,  
 The person of himfelfe, into foure parts ;  
 To be leffe knowne, & yet known euery where,  
 The more to animate his peoples harts :  
 Who, cheered by his prefence, would not spare  
 To execute their beft and worthyest parts.  
 By which, two fpecial things effected are ;  
 His fafetie, and his fubiefts better care.

## 52

And neuer worthy Prince a day did quit  
 With greater hazard, and with more renowne,  
 Then thou didft, mightie *Henry*, in this fight ;  
 Which onely made thee owner of thine owne :  
 Thou neuer proov'dft the Tenure of thy right  
 (How thou didft hold thy eafie-gotten Crown)  
 Till now : and, now, thou fhew'ft thy felfe Chiefe Lord  
 By that efpecial right of kings ; the *Sword*.

## 53

And deare it coft, and much good bloud is fhed  
 To purchafe thee, a fauing victorie :  
 Great *Stafford* thy high Conftable lyes dead,  
 With *Shorly*, *Clifton*, *Gawfell*, *Caluerly*,

<sup>1</sup> Edmond, E. of Stafford, Conftable of England.

St. 53, l. 1, 'ð much' : l. 2, 'this loofing victory' : ll. 3-8—

'O trauayld king : yet haft thou conquered  
 A doubtful day, a mightie enemy ;

And many more ; whose braue deathes witnessed  
 Their noble valour and fidelitie :  
 And many more had left their dearest bloud  
 Behind, that day, had *Hotspur* longer stood.

## 54

But he, as *Douglas*, with his furie ledde,  
 Rushing into the thickest woods of speares,  
 And brakes of swordes, still laying at the Head  
 (The life of th'Army) whiles he nothing feares  
 Or spares his owne, comes all inuironed  
 With multitude of powre, that ouer-beares  
 His manly worth : who yeeldes not, in his fall ;  
 But fighting dyes, and dying kils withal.

## 55

What Arke, what trophie, what magnificence  
 Of glory, *Hot-spurre*, hadst thou purchas't here ;  
 Could but thy Cause, as fayre as thy pretence,  
 Be made vnto thy Country to appeare !

But  $\delta$  what woundes, what famous worthyes dead !  
 That makes the winner looke with forrowing eye :  
 Magnanimous *Stafford* lost, that much had wrought,  
 And valiant *Shorly* who great glory gote.'

In margin 'Sir Hugh Shorly.'

After st. 53 (= 113) comes this in ' :—

' Such wrack of others bloud thou didst behold,  
 O furious *Hotspur*, ere thou lost thine owne !  
 Which now once lost that heate in thine waxt cold,  
 And soone became thy Armie ouerthrowne ;  
 And  $\delta$  that this great spirit, this courage bold,  
 Had in some good cause here rightly showne !  
 So had not we thus violently then  
 Haue termed that rage which valor should haue been.'

This is st. 121 in \*. Our st. 83 follows this, which see for various readings.  
 St. 55—82 not in ', \*.

Had it beene her protection and defence  
 (Not thy ambition) made thee fell so deare  
 Thy selfe this day ; shee must haue here made good  
 An euerlasting Statue for thy bloud.

## 56

Which thus mispent, thy Army presently,  
 (As if they could not stand, when thou wert downe)  
 Disperst in rout, betooke them all to flie :  
 And *Douglas*, faint with wounds, & ouer-throwne,  
 Was taken ; who yet wonne theemie  
 Which tooke him (by his noble valour showne,  
 In that dayes mighty worke) and was preserv'd  
 With all the grace, and honor he deserv'd.

## 57

*Worcester* (who had escap't unhappily  
 His death in battel) on a Scaffold dyes,<sup>1</sup>  
 The next after, in the company  
 Of other chiefeft of that enterprife.  
 And, so, the tempest of this mutinie  
 Became allay'd ; and those great ieopardies  
 Blowne-ouer in this fort, the Coasts well cleer'd,  
 But for one threatning cloud, that yet appear'd.

## 58

*Northumberland* (recouered) still out stands,  
 The principall of this great family  
 And faction ; hauing *Berwike* in his hands,  
 With other holdes ; strong by confed'racie  
 With *Scotland* ; mighty by his owne command :  
 And, likely now, his vtmost powre to trie,

<sup>1</sup> Tho. Percie E. of Worcester, with Sir Richard Vernon and the Baron of Kinderton, were taken in the Battell and beheaded.

T'auenge him on the ruine of his Bloud,  
And ioyne with *Wales* ; which yet vndanted stood.

## 59

Which mov'd the king (who had too much indur'd  
In this dayes worke, to hazard new againe)  
By all the aptest meanes could be procur'd  
To lay to draw him in, by any traine.  
And write he did, and vow'd, and him assur'd  
(Vpon his princely word) to intertaine  
With former grace, if hee would but submit,  
And come to yeeld th'obedience that was fit.

## 60

The Earle, be'ing now by this defeat dismay'd  
(And fearing his confederates would fayle  
With Fortune, and betray, rather then ayde,  
Those who are downe ; being for their owne auayle)  
Relying on his Sov'raignes oath obay'd ;  
Which, with his tender griefs, did much preuaile :  
And in hee came, and had no detryment,  
But (for a shew) some short imprifonment.

## 61

The Parlement, that afterward infu'd,  
Restor'd him t'all his dignities and landes.  
And now none, but the Welsh, seem'd to seclude  
The king, from hauing wholly in his hands  
All peace within : and them he had purfu'd  
Whiles this braue army, with these ready bands,  
Were yet on foot ; could he but haue got pay  
To hold them, and his charge of war defray.



## 62

But, that hee could not gaine, though all the wayes  
That might be wrought, he labours to procure  
Meanes to effect the same. But, those delayes,  
And long protraction, which he must indure  
By way of Parlement, so much betrayes  
The opportunitie, that might secure  
His vndertaking ; as, the occasion, lost,  
Draue both the State, and him, to greater cost.

## 63

For, now the Rebell, thus forborne, growes strong  
Both in his reputation and successe :  
For, hauing with his powre held out so long,  
Many aduenture (with more forwardnesse)  
To yeeld him ayd, and to support his wrong :  
And forraine Princes (in his businesse  
Whom hee sollicites) now wil lend their hand  
To hould him vp ; seeing, himselfe can stand.<sup>1</sup>

## 64

And thus he prospers ; whiles, the King here spent  
Much time to leuie treasure, to maintaine  
His charge abroad : which, with that discontent,  
That murmure, those denyals, hee doth gaine,<sup>2</sup>  
As that hee findes it euen as turbulent  
To warre for it, as with it, all his Raigne ;  
Though hee had those inforcements of expence,  
Both for offence, retaynements, and defence.

<sup>1</sup> The Fr. K. sendes aide to Owen Glendour with 140. shippes, which landed at Milford Hauen. An. Reg. 6.

<sup>2</sup> An. Reg. 6. with much adoo the Laitie granted 2 fiftenees, vpon condition that the L. Furniull should receiue all the mony, and see it to bee spent in the K. warres.

## 65

For, here befide thefe troubles in the Land,  
His large Dominions, held abroad, require  
A plentiful and a prepared hand  
To guard them ; where fo mightie men aspire  
T'affaile, diftra&t and trouble his Command,  
With hopes, with promifes, with fword and fire :  
And then as deepe importes, his Coaftes to cleere ;  
Which, by his neighbors, much infested were.<sup>1</sup>

## 66

The *Flemings*, *Britaines*, with the *French* and all,  
Attempt incurfions, and worke much defpight :  
*Orleanse*, for *Guien* : and here the Conte, *Saint Paul*,  
For *Calais* labours,<sup>2</sup> and the *Ile of Wight*.  
Wherein, though neither had fucceffe at all ;  
Yet *Cleremont* ouercame, and wonne by fight  
Important Holdes, in *Gafconie* the-while,  
And did the Englifh much diftreffe and fpoyle.<sup>3</sup>

## 67

All which require prouifions to withftand :  
And all are fuccord with great prouidence :  
A Nauie, to fecure the Seas, is mann'd,  
And forces fent to *Calais*,<sup>4</sup> for defence.

<sup>1</sup> The D. of Orleans with an Army of 6000. men entred into Guien, and befieged Vergi, the fpace of 3. moneths, & return'd without obtaining it.

<sup>2</sup> An. Reg. 5. The Conte Cleremont, Sonne to the D of Burbon, with Mon. de la Bret, wonne diuers Castles in Gafconie. The fame time the Conte Sa. Paul inuadeth the Ile of Wight, with 1600. men.

<sup>3</sup> An. Reg. 6. The Cont Saint Paule befiegeth the Caſtle of Marke within 3. miles of Calais. The Brittaines vnder the conduct of the L. of Caſſells fpoyled and burnt the Towne of Plimmouth.

<sup>4</sup> The K. ſends 4000. men to Calais, and 3000. to the Seas, vnder the conduct of his ſecond ſonne Tho. of Lancaſter after D. of Clarence.

And wherein other parts defectiue stand,  
They are supply'd, with carefull diligence :  
So that his subiects could not but well knowe,  
That what they granted, he did sure bestowe.

68

Nor did hee spare himselfe, nor his ; but (bent  
All-wholly vnto actiue Worthynesse)  
The Prince of *VVales* vnto his Prouince sent ;  
Where, hee was sure, hee should not take his ease :  
His second sonne is, with the Earle of *Kent*,  
Imployd (as Gouvernour) to keepe the Seas.  
A third<sup>1</sup> (though very yong) likewise sent forth  
With *VVestmerland*, attends vnto the North.

69

Thus were they bred, who after were to bee  
Men amongst men : here, with these graue Adioynts  
(These learned Maisters) they were taught to see  
Themselues, to read the world, and keep their points.  
Thus were they entred in the first degree  
(And Accedence) of action ; which acquaints  
Them, with the Rules of Worth and Noblenefs :  
Which, in true Concord, they learn'd well t'expresse.

70

And whiles h'attends the State thus carefully,  
The Earle of *Marches* children are conuay'd  
Out of the Towre of *VVindfor*, secretly ;  
Being prisoners there, not for their merit lay'd,  
But, for their Bloud ; and to the ende-whereby  
This Chayne of Nature might be interlay'd

<sup>1</sup> John, after D. of Bedford, sent with Ralph Neuile E. of Westmerland,  
into the North.

Betweene the Father and his high intents,  
To hold him backe, to saue these innocents.

## 71

For which attempt (though it were frustrated  
By their recouerie, who were got againe)  
*Aumarle* (now Duke of *Yorke*) is chalenged,  
By his owne sifter,<sup>1</sup> to haue layd that trayne ;  
Who (late) her Lord, with others ruined,  
In secretly betraying them, t'obtaine  
His grace and peace : which yet contents him not.  
For, Who hath grace and peace by treason got ?

## 72

So much did loue, t'her executed Lord,  
Predominate in this faire Ladies hart,  
As in that region, it would not afford  
Nature a place, to rest in any part  
Of her affections ; but that she abhord  
Her proper blood, and left to doo the part  
Of sifterhood, to doo that of a wife ;  
T'auenge a Husbands death, by Brothers life.

## 73

Vpon which accusation, presently  
The Duke committed is, without much stirre  
Or vulgar noyse ; for that it tenderly  
Did touch the secrett wounds of *Lancaster* :  
When streight, another new conspiracie  
(As if it were a certaine successor

<sup>1</sup> The Lady Spencer, sifter to Edward D. of Yorke, late wife to Tho. L. Spencer (executed at Bristow, An. Reg. 1) accused her brother to be the chiefe author of conuaying away the E. of Marches sons out of the Towre of Windfor.

Ally'd to this) ingendred in the North,  
Is by th' Archbishop *Scroope* with power brought forth<sup>1</sup> :

## 74

And with faire zeale, and pietie, approv'd  
To be for th'vniuerfall benefit  
And succour of the people, who (soone mov'd  
By such perfwaders, as are held vpright ;  
And for their zeale, and charitie belov'd)  
Vse not t'examine if the Cause be right,  
But leap into the toyle, and are vndon  
By following them that they rely'd vpon.

## 75

Here, new asperfions, with new obloquies,  
Are layde on old deferts ; and future ill  
On present sufferings, bruted to aryse,  
That farther grieuances ingender wil.  
And then concussion, rapine, pilleries,  
Their Catalogue of accusations fill.  
Which to redresse, they doo presume to make  
Religion to auow the part they take.

## 76

And euen as *Canterburie* did produce  
A Pardon to aduance him to the Crown ;  
The like now *Yorke* pronounces, to induce  
His faction for the pulling of him down<sup>2</sup> :

<sup>1</sup> Hen. Percie E. of North. againe conspires against the K. with Rich. Scroope Archbishop of Yorke, Tho. Mowbraie E Marshal, Tho. L. Bar-dolph, and others. They assembled the Citizens of Yorke with the Country adioyning to take their part for the commodity of the Realme.

<sup>2</sup> They divulge grieuous Articles against the King.

<sup>3</sup> The Archb. of York offers pardon to all that take their part against the King.

Whilſt th'ignorant, deceiv'd by this abuſe,  
 Makes others ends to be as if their owne.  
 But, what wold theſe haue don againſt the crimes,  
 Oppreſſions, ryots, waſtes of other times ?

## 77

Since now they had a Monarch, and a man,  
 Rayf'd by his worth, and by their owne conſent,  
 To gouerne them, and workes the beſt he can  
 T'aduance the Crowne, and giue the State cōtent ;  
 Commits not all to others care, nor ran  
 An idle courſe, or on his Minions ſpent.  
 “ But, thus the Horſe at firſt bites at the Bit ;  
 “ That after is content to play with it.

## 78

Growne to a mighty powre (attending now  
 Northumberland, with his prepared ayde)  
 The Biſhop (by a *parle*) is, with a ſhowe  
 Of combination, cunningly betrayde  
 By Weſtmerland<sup>1</sup> : whoſe wit did ouerthrowe,  
 Without a ſword, all theſe great feares, and ſtayd  
 The mightieſt danger, that did euer yet  
 Thy Crowne and State, diſturbed *Henrie*, threat.

## 79

For which, this reuerent Prieſt with *Mowbray* dyes :  
 Who both, drawne on, with paſſion of deſpight,  
 To vndertake this fatall enterpriſe  
 (The one his brothers<sup>2</sup> bloud-ſhed to requite ;

<sup>1</sup> The E. of Weſtmerland, with Iohn D. of Lancaſter, gathered an Armie againſt the conſpiratours : whoſe power being too great for thē, the E. made ſemblance to ioyne with the Archb. for redreſſe of ſuch grevances as he pretended ; and ſo circumvented and diſfurniſht him of his forces. An. Reg. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The Archb. was brother to William Scroope E. of Wiltſhire, *Treſurer* of England, before beheaded.

The other for his fathers<sup>1</sup> iniuries)  
 Did wrong themselues, and did not others right.  
 For, who through th'eyes of their affections looke,  
 And not of iudgement, thus are ouer-tooke.

## 80

Whereof, when newes came to *Northumberland*  
 (Who seldome other then of miserie  
 Seemes borne to heare ; being euer behind hand  
 With Fortune, and his opportunitie)  
 To *Scotland* flies : where, giuen to vnderstand  
 Of some intrapment by conspiracie,  
 Gets into *Wales* : whence hee aduentured  
 T'attempt another day ; and lost his head.<sup>2</sup>

## 81

Whereby, once more those Parts are quieted,  
 When-as the King (who neuer had his brow  
 Seene free from sweat, nor hart from trouble rid)  
 Was, with suspicion that his sonne grew now  
 Too popular, and forward,<sup>3</sup> so much fed  
 By wicked instruments (who well knew how  
 To gaine by Princes feares) as he thereby  
 Fell, in his grieve, to great extremitie.

<sup>1</sup> Tho. Mowbray E. Marhall, sonne to the Duke of Norfolke, banished about the quarrell with H. Bullingbrooke.

<sup>2</sup> The E. of North. returning out of Wales recouers new forces in Yorkshire, and is with the L. Bardolph ouercome at Bramham Moore, and slaine in the Battail, An. Reg. 9.

<sup>3</sup> The K. growes iealous of his sonne, Hen. Prince of Wales : who, with a better minde then fashon, came to his Father and cleared himself. Au. Reg. 13.

## 82

Which when that vertuous Prince (who borne to bee  
The module of a glorious Monarch) heard,  
With humble protestations did so free  
His fathers feares, and his owne honor cleer'd,  
As that he plainely made the world to see  
How base, Detraction and Deceipt appeard ;  
And that a hart, so nobly built, could not  
Containe (within) a thought, that wore a blot.

## 83

Wherewith, the king betakes him to some peace ;  
Yet to a peace, much like a ficke-mans sleep  
(Whose vnrelenting paines do neuer cease ;  
But alwayes watch vpon his weakenes keepe)  
That neuer any Sabaoth of releafe  
Could free his trauailes, and afflictions deepe :  
But still his cares held working, all his life,  
Till Death concludes a finall end with strife.

## 84

Whose Herald, Sickenes, being imployd, before,  
With full commiffion to denounce his end ;  
And paine and grieve, inforcing more and more,  
Besieg'd the Hold, that could not long defend ;  
Consuming so, al that resisting store  
Of those prouisions Nature daign'd to lend,

St. 83, ll. 1, 2, 'But now the king retires him to his',<sup>1</sup> ;

A peace . . . feeble'<sup>1</sup> :

l. 3, 'Wherein his working paines'<sup>1</sup> : l. 4, 'Though seeming rest his closed eyes doth'<sup>1</sup> : l. 5, 'For ð no peace could euer so'<sup>1</sup> : l. 6, 'His intricate turmoiles and forrowes'<sup>1</sup> : l. 7, ' . . . that . . . kept waking'<sup>1</sup> : l. 8, 'Continue on till Death conclude the strife'<sup>1</sup> .

St. 84, l. 1, 'sent'<sup>1</sup> : l. 5, 'And so consum'd . . . imboldning'<sup>1</sup> : l. 6, ' . . . hote gaine-friuing bloud that did contend'<sup>1</sup> .



As that the walles, worne thin, permit the Minde  
To looke out thorow, and his frailty finde.

## 85

For, now (as if those vapors vanisht were,  
Which heat of boyling bloud, and health, did breed,  
To clowd the iudgement) things do plaine appeare  
In their owne colours, as they are indeede ;  
When-as th'illightned foule discouers cleere  
Th'abusufg shewes of Sense, and notes with heed  
How poore a thing is pride ; when all, as flaues,  
" Differ but in their fetters, not their Graues.

## 86

And, lying on his last afflicted bed,  
Pale Death and Conscience both before him stand ;  
Th'one holding out a Booke, wherein he read  
In bloody lines the deedes of his owne hand :  
The other shewes a glasse, which figured  
An ougly forme of foule corrupted Sand ;  
Both bringing horror in the hieft degree,  
With what he was, and what he soone should be.

St. 84, ll. 7, 8—

' Wearing the wall so thin that now the mind  
Might well looke thorow ' 1.

St. 85, l. 1, ' When lo . . . the ' 1, 2: l. 3, ' . . . fence that nothing  
might ' 1: l. 4, ' Vnto the thought, that which it was ' 1: ll. 5-8—

' The lightened foule began to see more cleere  
How much it was abusd, & notes with heed  
The plaine discouered falsehood open laid  
Of all-perfwading flesh that so betrayd ' 1.

St. 86, l. 2, ' Where ' 1: l. 8, ' straight ' 1.

## 87

Which seeing ; all trembling, and confus'd with feare,  
 He lay a while, amaz'd, with this affright :  
 At last, commands some, that attending were,  
 To fetch the Crowne, and set it in his sight.  
 On which, with fixed eye, and heauy cheere,  
 Casting a looke ; O God, sayth he, what right  
 I had to thee, I now in grieve conceiue :  
 Thee, which with blood I held, with horror leaue.

## 88

And, herewithall, the soule (rapt with the thought  
 Of mischiefes past) did so attentive wey  
 These present terrors, whil't (as if forgot)  
 The dull oppressed body senselesse lay ;  
 That he, as breathlesse quite, quite dead is thought ;  
 When, lo, the sonne comes in, and takes-away  
 This fatall Crowne from thence, and out he goes ;  
 As if impatient, longer time to lose.

St. 87, l. 1, 'all confus'd, trembling' : l. 2, ' . . . as ouerthrowne in  
 sprite' : l. 7, 'my soule doth now' : l. 8, 'gote'.

After st. 87 (= 119) this comes in ' :—

' Wert thou the cause my climbing care was such  
 To passe those boundes, nature and law ordaind ?  
 Is this that good which promised so much,  
 And seemd so glorious ere it was attaind ?  
 Wherein was neuer ioye but gaue a touch  
 To checke my soule to thinke how thou wert gaind ;  
 And now how do I leaue thee vnto mine,  
 Which it is dread to keepe, death to resigne.'

St. 88, l. 1, 'With this . . . wholly' : l. 2, 'Of such distresse' :  
 l. 3, 'Her present horror' : l. 4, 'consumed' : l. 5, 'And now' :  
 l. 8, 'vnwilling'. After st. 88 (= 121) in ' : come two omitted here :—

122.

And whilst that sad confus'd soule doth cast  
 Those great accounts of terror and distresse,

89

To whom (call'd backe for this presumptuous deed)  
 The King (return'd from out his extasie)  
 " Began : O sonne, what needst thou make such speed  
 " To be before-hand with thy miserie ?  
 " Thou shalt haue time ynough, if thou succeed,  
 " To feele the stormes that beat on Dignitie.  
 " And, if thou couldst but bee (be any thing)  
 " In libertie, then neuer be a King.

90

" Nay, Father ; since your Fortune did attaine  
 " So high a Stand, I meane not to descend,

Vpon this counsell it doth light at last  
 How he might make the charge of horror lesse ;  
 And finding no way to acquit the past  
 But onely this, to vse some quicke redresse  
 Of acted wrong, with giuing vp againe,  
 The crowne to whom it seem'd to appertaine.

123.

Which found, lightned with some small ioy thee hyes,  
 Rouses her seruants that dead sleepe lay,  
 (The members of her house) to exercise  
 One feeble dutie more, during her stay :  
 And opening those darke windowes, he espies  
 The crowne for which he lookt was borne awaie :  
 And all-agriued with the vnkind offence,  
 He could him bring it backe that tooke it hence.

St. 89, ll. 1—3—' . . . excusing his . . .  
 By the supposing him departed quite)  
 He said . . . thee . . . ' :

L 4, ' Vnto that care, where feare exceeds thy right ' : ll. 5-8—  
 ' And where his sinne whom thou shalt now succeed  
 Shall still vpbraide thy inheritance of might ;  
 And if thou canst liue, and liue great from wo  
 Without this carefull trauaile, let it go ' .

II.

22

"Replies the Prince : as if what you did gaine,  
 "I were of spirit vnable to defend.  
 "Time will appease them well, who now complaine,  
 "And ratifie our int'rest in the end.  
 "What wrong hath not continuance quite out-worne ?  
 "Yeares make that right, which neuer was so borne.

## 91

"If so ; God worke his pleasure, sayd the King :  
 "Yet thou must needs contend, with all thy might,  
 "Such euidence of vertuous deeds to bring,  
 "That well may proue our wrong to be our right :  
 "And let the goodnesse of the managing  
 "Raze out the blot of foul attaining, quite ;  
 "That Discontent may all aduantage misse,  
 "To wish it otherwise, then now it is.

## 92

"And since my death my purpose doth preuent,  
 "Touching this *Holy warre* I tooke in hand  
 "(An action wherewithall my soule had ment  
 "T'appease my God, and reconcile my Land)  
 "To thee is left to finish my intent ;  
 "Who, to be safe, must neuer idly stand ;  
 "But some great actions entertaine thou still,  
 "To holde their mindes, who else wil practise ill.

## 93

"Thou hast not that aduantage by my Raigne,  
 "To ryot it, as they whom long descent

St. 91, l. 2, 'And ô do thou'¹.

St. 92, l. 2, 'sacred'¹.

" Hath purchas't loue, by custome ; but, with paine  
 " Thou must contend to buy the worlds content.  
 " What their birth gaue them, thou hast yet to gaine  
 " By thine owne vertues, and good gouernment :  
 " So that vnlesse thy worth confirme the thing,  
 " Thou neuer shalt be father to a King.

## 94

" Nor art thou borne in those calme dayes, where Rest  
 " Hath brought asleepe sluggish Securitie :  
 " But, in tumultuous times ; where mindes, addrest  
 " To factions, are invr'd to mutinie ;  
 " A mischief, not by force, to be suppress'd,  
 " Where rigor still begets more enmitie :  
 " Hatred must be beguil'd with some new course,  
 " Where States are stiffe, and Princes doubt their force.

## 95

This, and much more, Affliction would haue say'd,  
 Out of th'experience of a troublous Raigne  
 (For which, his high desire had dearely pay'd  
 The int'rest of an euer-toying paine)  
 But that this all-subduing Power here stai'd  
 His fault'ring tongue, and paine (r'inforc't againe)  
 Barr'd vp th'oppressed passages of breath,  
 To bring him quite vnder the state of Death.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ann. dom. 1412. the K. died in the 46. yeare of his age, when he had reigned 13 yeares 6 moneths ; and left 4 sonnes ; Hen. after him K. The D. of Clarence, Iohn D. of Bedford, and Humfrey D. of Gloster.

St. 93, l. 7, 'And' : l. 8, 'canst not . . . the'.

St. 95, l. 7, 'And cut off all the'.

## 96

In whose possession I must leaue him now ;  
 And now, into the *Ocean* of new toyles ;  
 Into the stormie Maine (where tempestes growe  
 Of greater ruines, and of greater spoyles)  
 Set forth my course (to hasten-on my vow)  
 Ov'r all the troublous Deepe of these turmoyles,  
 And, if I may but liue t'attaine the shore  
 Of my desired end, I wish no more.

After st. 96 (= 131, misprinted 113) comes this final one in ' here. In ' it is st. 139.

## 132.

' Help on ô sou'raigne *Muse*, helpe on my course,  
 If these my toyles be gratefull in thy eyes ;  
 Or but looke on, to cheere my feeble force,  
 That I faint not in this great enterprize :  
 And you ô worthy you, that take remorse  
 Of my estate, and helpe my thoughts to rise ;  
 Continue still your grace that I may giue,  
 End to the worke wherein your worth may liue ' 1.

*The ende of the fourth Booke.*



# THE FIFT BOOKE.<sup>1</sup>

## THE ARGUMENT.

*Henry the fift cuts off his enemy,  
The Earle of Cambridge, that conspir'd his death.  
Henry the sixt (married unluckily)  
His, and his Countreys glorie ruineth.  
Suffolke, that made the match, preferd too hie,  
Going to exile, a Pirat murdereth.  
VVhat meanes the Duke of Yorke obseru'd to gaine  
The worlds good-will, seeking the Crowne t'attaine.*

## I



Loſe ſmothered lay the lowe depressed  
fire,  
Whoſe after-iſſuing flames confounded  
all,  
The whil't victorious *Henry*<sup>2</sup> did con-  
ſpire  
The wracke of *Fraunce*, that at his  
feete did fall :

<sup>1</sup> In 'Book 'Fift' is Book 'Fovvrth,' and I give various readings from it as in <sup>1</sup>. Heading in <sup>1</sup> 'The Argvment of the Fovvrth Booke.'

<sup>2</sup> Henry 5. began his raigne the 20 of March. An. 1412.  
St. 1, l. 3, 'Whilſt thou' <sup>1</sup>.

Whil't ioyes of gotten spoyles, and new desire  
 Of greater gaine, to greater deeds did call  
 His conquering troupes ; that could no thoughts retaine  
 Saue thoughts of glorie, all that actiue Raigne.

## 2

Whome here, me thinks (as if hee did appeare,  
 Out of the cloudy darkenes of the night)  
 I do behold approche with Martiall cheere,  
 And with a dreadful (and yet louely) fight :  
 Whose eye giues courage, and whose brow hath feare ;  
 Both representing terror, and delight ;  
 And stayes my course, and off my purpose breakes,  
 And in vpbrayding words thus fiercely speakes :

## 3

" Vngrateful times, that impiously neglect  
 " That worth, that neuer times againe shall shew ;  
 " What ? merites all our toyle no more respect ?  
 " Or else standes Idlenesse asham'd to knowe  
 " Those wondrous Actions that do so obiect  
 " Blame to the wanton, sinne vnto the slowe ?

St. 1, l. 7, 'Thy' <sup>1</sup>: l. 8, 'But' <sup>1</sup>.

After st. 1 in <sup>1</sup> is the following stanza in <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>:—

' What do I feele & now in passing by  
 These blessed times that I am forst to leaue?  
 What trembling sad remorse doth terrefie  
 M'amazed thought with what I do conceiue?  
 What ? doth my pen commit impietie  
 To passe those sacred *trophies* without leaue?  
 And do I sin not to salute your ghostes  
 Great worthies, so renown'd in forraine coasts ?'

St. 2, l. 1, 'Who do I see out of the darke' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 2, 'Covered almost  
 with cloudes as with' <sup>1</sup>: l. 3, 'That here presents him with a martiall  
 cheere' <sup>1</sup>: l. 4, 'Seeming of dreadfull, and yet louely fight?' <sup>1</sup>: l. 8,  
 'obrayding wordes' <sup>1</sup>.



" Can *England* see the best, that she can boast,  
 " Lie thus vngrac't, vndeckt and almost lost ?

## 4

" Why do you seeke for fained *Palladines*  
 " (Out of the smoke of idle vanitie)  
 " Who may giue glory to the true defignes,  
 " Of *Bourchier, Talbot, Neuile, Willoughby* ?  
 " Why should not you strue to fill vp your lines,  
 " With wonders of your owne, with veritie ?  
 " T'inflame their ofspring with the loue of good,  
 " And glorious true examples of their Blood.

## 5

" What euerlasting matter here is found,  
 " Whence new immortall *Iliads* might proceed !  
 " That those, whose happie graces do abound  
 " In blessed accents, here may haue to feed  
 " Good thoughts ; on no imaginarie ground  
 " Of hungry shadowes, which no profite breed ;  
 " Whence, musicke-like, instant delight may growe ;  
 " Yet, when men all do knowe, they nothing knowe.

## 6

" And why dost thou, in lamentable verfe,  
 " Nothing but blood-shed, treasons, sinne and shame,  
 " The worst of times, th'extreame of ills, rehearse ;  
 " To rayse olde staynes, and to renew dead blame ?  
 " As if the mindes of th'euill, and peruerse,  
 " Were not farre sooner trained from the same,  
 " By good example of faire vertuous acts,  
 " Then by the shew of foul vngodly facts.

St. 5, l. 1, ' O what eternall ' 1.

## 7

" Would God, our times had had some sacred wight,  
 " Whose words as happy as our swords had bin,  
 " To haue prepar'd for vs *Tropheis* aright,  
 " Of vndecaying frames t'haue rested in ;  
 " Triumphant Arks, of perdurable might ;  
 " O holy lines ! that such aduantage win  
 " Vpon the Sieth of Time, in spight of yeares :  
 " How blessed they, who gaine what neuer weares !

## 8

" For, what is it to do, if what we do  
 " Shall perish neere as soone as it is donne ?  
 " What is that glory wee attaine vnto  
 " With all our toyle, if lost as soone as wonne ?  
 " A small requitall, for so great adoo,  
 " Is this poore present breath, a smoake soone gone ;  
 " Or these dumb stones, erected for our sake :  
 " Which, formles heapes few stormy changes make.

## 9

" Tell great *ELIZA* (since her dayes are grac't,  
 " With those bright ornaments, to vs deni'd)  
 " That she repaire what darknesse hath defac't,  
 " And get our ruyn'd deedes, reedifi'd :  
 " She in whose all-directing eye is plac't  
 " A powre, the highest powers of wit to guide  
 " Shee may command the worke, and ouer-see  
 " The holy frame, that might eternall bee.

St. 7, l. 1, 'O that'.

St. 8, l. 1, 'o' : l. 5, 'O'.

## 10

For, would Shee be content, that Time should make  
 A rauenous prey, vpon her glorious Raigne ;  
 That Darkenesse, and the Night, should ouertake  
 So cleare a Brightnesse, shining without staine ?  
 Ah ! no : She fosters some (no doubt) that wake  
 For her eternitie, with pleasing paine.  
 And if shee, for her selfe, prepare this good ;  
 Let her not so neglect those of her Blood.

## 11

This, that great Monarch, *Henrie*, seem'd to craue ;  
 When (weighing what a holy motiue here  
 Vertue propos'd, and fit for him to haue,  
 Whom all times ought of dutie hold most deare)  
 I sigh't, and wish't that some would take t'ingraue,  
 With curious hand, so proud a worke to reare  
 (To grace the present, and to blesse times past)  
 That might, for euer, to our glorie last.

## 12

So should our well-taught times haue learn'd alike,  
 How faire shin'd Virtue, and how foul Vice stood ;  
 When now my selfe am driuen to mislike  
 Those deedes of worth, I dare not vow for good :  
 I cannot mone who lose, nor prayse who seeke  
 By mightie Actions here t'aduance their Blood,  
 I must say, Who wrought most, least honor had :  
 How euer good the Cause, the deedes were bad.

St. 10, l. 1, 'O' : l. 8, 'O let her not neglect'.

St. 12, l. 3, 'haue' (bad).

## 13

And onely tell the worft of euerie Raigne ;  
 And not the intermedled good report.  
 I leaue, what glorie Virtue did attaine  
 At th'euer memorable *Agincort* :  
 I leaue to tell, what wit, what power did gaine  
 Th'affieged *Roan*, *Caen*, *Dreux* ; or in what fort :  
 How Maieftie, with terror, did aduance  
 Her conquering foote, on all subdued *Fraunce*.

## 14

All this I paffe, and that magnanimous King,  
 Mirror of vertue, miracle of worth ;  
 Whose mighty Actions, with wife managing,  
 Forc't prouder boasting Climes to ferue the North.  
 The beft of all the beft, the earth can bring,  
 Scarce equals him, in what his Raigne brought forth ;  
 Being of a minde, as forward to aspire,  
 As fit to gouerne what he did defire.

## 15

His comely body was a goodly feate,  
 Where Virtue dwelt moft faire ; as lodg'd moft pure :  
 A body strong ; where vse of strength did get  
 A stronger ftate to do, and to endure :  
 His life he makes th'exemple, to beget  
 Like fpirit in thofe, he did to good inure ;  
 And gaue, to *Worth*, fuch life, and liuelihood,  
 As if hee Greatnes fought, but to do good.

St. 15, l. 7, 'Moft glorying to aduance true vertuous bloud' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

## 16

Hee as the Chiefe, and all-directing head,  
 Did with his subiects, as his members, liue ;  
 And them to goodnesse forced not, but led ;  
 Winning, not much to haue, but much to giue  
 (Deeming, the powre of his, his powr did spread)  
 As borne to blesse the world, and not to grieue ;  
 Adorn'd with others spoyles, not subiects store :  
 No King, exacting lesse ; none, winning more.

## 17

Hee, after that corrupted faith had bred  
 An ill inur'd obedience for Command ;  
 And languishing luxurioufnes had spread  
 Weyward vnaptnesse ouer all the Land ;  
 Those long vnordred troupes so marshalled,  
 Vnder such formall discipline to stand,  
 That euen his soule seem'd onely to direct  
 So great a body, such exployts t'effect.

## 18

He brings abroad distracted Discontent ;  
 Disperst ill humors into actions hie ;  
 And, to vnite them all in one consent,  
 Plac't the faire marke of glorie in their eye ;  
 That, Malice had no leasure to dissent,  
 Nor Enuie time to practise treacherie :  
 The present actions do diuert the thought  
 Of madnesse past, while mindes were so well wrought.

St. 16, l. 1, 'Who' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

St. 17, l. 4, 'Feeble' <sup>1</sup>: l. 5, 'Yet he . . . led' <sup>1</sup>.

## 19

Here now were Pride, Oppression, Vfurie  
 (The canker-eating mischiefs of the State)  
 Call'd foorth to prey vpon the enemie ;  
 Whil'ft the home-burth'ned, better lightned fate :  
 Exa&ctors did not, with a greedy eye,  
 Examine states, or priuate riches rate :  
 The filent Courts<sup>1</sup> warr'd not, with busie words ;  
 Nor wrested law gaue the contentious, swords.

## 20

Now, nothing entertaines th'attentiu eare,  
 But stratagems, assaults, surprises, fightes ;  
 How to giue lawes to them that conquered were,  
 How to articulate with yeelding wightes :  
 The weake with mercie, and the proud with feare,  
 How to retaine ; to giue deserts their rights,  
 Were now the Artes : and nothing else was thought,  
 But how to win, and maintaine what was got.

## 21

Nor here were any priuately posselt  
 Or held alone imprisoned Maiestie,  
 Proudly debarring entraunce from the rest ;  
 As if the prey were theirs, by victorie.  
 Here, no detractor woundes who merits best ;  
 Nor shameles brow cheeres-on impietie.  
 Vertue, who all her toyle with zeale had spent,  
 Not here, all vnrewarded, fighting went.

<sup>1</sup> The Courtes of Iustice.

St. 19, l. 5, 'Ease was not suffered' <sup>1</sup> : l. 6, 'T' . . . wealthes' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 21, l. 1, 'Here o . . . none that' <sup>1</sup> : 'And here were none' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> : l. 2,  
 'And' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

## 22

But, here, the equally-respecting eye  
 Of Powre, looking alike on like deserts,  
 Blessing the good, made others good thereby ;  
 More mightie, by the multitude of hearts.  
 The felde of glorie, vnto all doth lie  
 Open alike ; honour, to all imparts.  
 So that the onely fashon in request,  
 Was, to be good, or good-like, as the rest.

## 23

So much, ô thou Example, dost effect  
 (Being farre a better Maister, then Command <sup>1</sup>)  
 That, how to do, by doing dost direct,  
 And teachest others action, by thy hand.  
 " Who followes not the course, that kings elect ?  
 " When Princes worke, who then wil idle stand ?  
 " And, when that dooing good is onely thought  
 " Worthy reward ; who will be bad for nought ?

## 24

And had not th' Earle of *Cambridge*,<sup>2</sup> with vaine speed  
 Vntimely practiz'd for an others right,  
 With hope to aduance those of his proper feed  
 (On whome the Rule seem'd destined to light)  
 The Land had seene none of her owne to bleed,  
 During this Raigne, nor no agreeued fight ;

<sup>1</sup> *Docet tolerare labores ; Non iacet.*

<sup>2</sup> Richard E. of Cambridge the second sonne to Edmond Langly, Duke of Yorke, married Anne the daughter of Roger Mortimer Earle of March, descended from Lionell D. of Clarence, the third sonne to K. Ed. 3. by whose right Richard D. of Yorke sonne to this E. of Cambridge, afterwards claymed the Crowne.

St. 24, l. 4, 'yet' <sup>1</sup>.

None the least blacknesse interclouded had  
So faire a day, nor any eye lookt sad.

25

But now, when *Fraunce* perceiued (from asarre)  
The gathering tempest, growing-on from hence,  
Ready to fall, threatning their State to marre,  
They labour all meanes to prouide defence :  
And, practising how to preuent this warre,  
And shut-out such calamities from thence,  
Do foster, here, some discord lately growne ;  
To hold Ambition busied, with her owne.

26

Finding those humors which they saw were fit  
Soone to be wrought, and easie to be fed,  
Swolne full with enuie, that the Crowne should sit  
There where it did (as if established)  
And whom it toucht in Blood, to grieve at it ;  
They with such hopes and helps sollicitd,  
That this great Earle was drawne t'attempt the thing,  
And practiseth how to depose the King.<sup>1</sup>

27

For, being of mightie meanes to do the deed ;  
And yet of mightier hopes, then meanes to do :  
And yet of spirit, that did his hopes exceed ;  
And then of Blood as great, to adde thereto :  
All these; with what the gold of *France* could breed  
(Being powers enow a clyming minde to woo)  
He so imploy'd, that many he had wonne,  
Euen of the chiefe the King reli'd vpon.

<sup>1</sup> The E. of Căbridge conspiring the death of the King, was with Hen. Scroope Lord Treasurer, & Sir Thomas Gray executed at Southampton. Ann. 3. Reg.

St. 26, l. 8, 'practises' <sup>1</sup>.



## 28

The well-knowne right of th' Earle of *March* allur'd  
 A leaning loue : whose Cause he did pretend.  
 Whereby, he knew that fo himfelfe procur'd  
 The Crowne for his owne children, in the ende.  
 For, the Earle beeing (as hee was affur'd)  
 Vnapt for iffue, it muft needes defcend  
 On thofe of his, being next of *Clarence* race ;  
 As who, by courfe of right, fhould hold the place.

## 29

It was the time, when-as the forward Prince  
 Had all prepar'd for his great enterprize ;  
 And ready ftand his troupes to part from hence,<sup>1</sup>  
 And all in ftately forme and order lyes,  
 When open Fame giues out intelligence  
 Of thefe bad complots of his enemies :  
 Or elfe, this time (of purpofe) chofen is ;  
 Though knowne before ; yet let run-on, till this.

## 30

That this might yeeld the more to aggrauate  
 Vpon fo foul a deed vntimely fought,  
 Now at this point, t'attempt to ruinate  
 So glorious a defigne fo forward brought,  
 Whil'ft careful Virtue feekes t'aduance the State,  
 And for her euerlafting honor fought :  
 That though the Cause feem'd right, and title ftiong ;  
 The time of dooing it, yet makes it wrong.

<sup>1</sup> At Southampton.

St. 30, l. 6, query 'fought' ? but *sic* in <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> and our text : l. 7, 'were' <sup>1</sup>.  
 St. 31, l. 1, 'And' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

## 31

But, straight, an vnlamented death he had :  
 And straight were ioyfully the Anchors weighd :  
 And all flocke fast aboard, with visage glad ;  
 As if the sacrifice had nowe beene payd,  
 For their good speed ; that made their stay so sad,  
 Loathing the least occasion that delayd.  
 And, now, new thoughts, great hopes, calme feares, fair  
     windes,  
 With present action intertaine their mindes.

## 32

No other crosse, *o Henry*, saw thy dayes  
 But this, that toucht thy now possessed hold ;  
 Nor after, long, till this mans sonne affayes<sup>1</sup>  
 To get, of thine, the right that he controll'd :  
 For which, contending long, his life he payes.  
 So that, it fatal seem'd the father should  
 Thy winning seeke to stay, and then his sonne  
 Should be the cause to lose, when thou hadst won.

## 33

Yet now in this so happy a meane-while,  
 And interlightning times, thy Virtues wrought,  
 That Discord had no leasure to defile  
 So faire attempts with a tumultuous thought :  
 And euen thy selfe, thy selfe didst so beguile  
 With such attention vpon what was fought,  
 That time affoords not now with feare or hate  
 Others to seeke, thee to secure thy State.

<sup>1</sup> Richard, Duke of Yorke, sonne to the E. of Cambridge, by Anne daughter to the Earle of March, made his claime, in 30. yeere of Hen. 6.

## 34

Or else, how easie had it beene, for thee,  
 All the pretendant race t'haue layd full lowe?  
 If thou proceeded hadst with crueltie,  
 Not suffering any fatall branch to growe :  
 But vnuspicious Magnanimitie  
 Shames such effectes of feare, and force, to showe ;  
 Bufied in free and open Actions still  
 Being great : for, being good, hates to be ill.

## 35

And yet, such wrongs are held meete to be done,  
 And often for the State thought requisite :  
 As, when the publike good depends thereon,  
 When great iniustice is esteem'd great right :  
 But yet, what good with doing ill is won ?  
 Who hath of blood made such a benefite,  
 As hath not fear'd, more after then before,  
 And made his peace the lesse, his plague the more ?

St. 34, l. 1, 'Else ô'¹.

After st. 34 (= 35) comes the following in ¹, ², ³ :—

' Which ô how much it were to be requir'd,  
 In all of might, if all were like of mind ;  
 But when that all depraued haue conspir'd  
 To be vniust, what fastie shall they find  
 (After the date of vertue is expird)  
 That do not practize in the selfe-same kind,  
 And countermine against deceite with guile?  
 But ô what mischiefes fees the world the while ?'

(in ², ³, l. 1, 'Which how much were it to be still' : l. 8, 'yet').

St. 35, l. 4, 'most'¹ (*ôis*) : l. 5, 'ô'¹.

II.

24

36

Farre otherwise dealt this vndaunted King,  
That cherished the ofspring of his foes ;  
And his Competitors to grace did bring :  
And them, his friendes for Armes, and honors, chofe ;  
As if plaine courfes were the fafeft thing ;  
Where vpright goodneffe, fure, and ftedfaft goes,  
Free from that fubtile markt impietie,  
Which this depraued world calles policie.

37

Yet, how hath Fate difpof'd of all this good ?  
What haue thefe Virtues after times auail'd ?  
In what ftead hath hy-raifed Valour ftood,  
When this continuing caufe of Greatnes fail'd ?  
Then, when proud-growne, the irritated blood,  
Enduring not it felfe, it felfe affail'd ;  
As though that *Proweffe* had but learn'd to spill  
Much blood abroad, to cut her throat with fkill.

38

How doth th'Eternall, in the courfe of things,  
Immix the caufes both of Good and Ill ?  
That thus the one, effects of th'other brings :  
As what feemes made to bliffe, is borne to spill ?  
What ? from the beft of Virtues glorie, fprings  
That, which the world with miferie doth fill ?  
Is th'end of happineffe, but wretchedneffe ?  
Hath Sinne his plague, and Virtue no fucceffe ?

St. 38, l. 1, 'O' : l. 2, 'So mixe'.

## 39

Either that is not good, the world holdes good :  
 Or else is so confus'd with ill ; that we  
 (Abused with th'appearing likelihood)  
 Run to offend, whil'ft we thinke good to bee :  
 Or else the heauens made man (in furious blood)  
 To torture man ; Allotting no courſe free  
 From miſchiefe long : Sending faire dayes that breed  
 But ſtormes ; to make, more foul, times that ſucceed.

## 40

Who would haue thought, that ſo great victories,  
 Such conqueſts, riches, Land, and Kingdome gain'd,  
 Could not but haue eſtabliſht in ſuch wiſe  
 This powrefull State, in ſtate to haue remain'd ?  
 Who would haue thought, that Miſchiefe could deuife  
 A way, ſo ſoone to loſe what was attain'd ?  
 As if powre were but ſhew'd to grieue, not grace ;  
 And to reduce vs into farre worſe caſe.

## 41

With what contagion, *Fraunce*, didſt thou infect  
 This Land, by thee made proud, to diſagree ;  
 T'inrage them ſo, their owne ſwordes to direct  
 Vpon themſelues, that were made ſharp in thee ?  
 Why didſt thou teach them, here at home t'ereſt  
*Trophees* of their blood, which of thine ſhould bee ?  
 Or was the date of thine affliction out,  
 And ſo (by courſe) was ours to come about ?

St. 39, l. 6, ' . . . And that no courſe is free ' : l. 7, ' . . . And that faire daies do ' '.

St. 40, l. 7, ' As greatnes ' '.

## 42

But, that vntimely death of this great King.<sup>1</sup>  
 Whose nine yeeres Raigne so mightie wonders wrought,  
 To thee thy hopes, to vs despaire did bring ;  
 Not long to keepe, and gouerne, what was got :  
 For, those that had th'affayres in managing,  
 Although their Countries good they greatly fought ;  
 Yet, so ill accidentes vnfitly fell,  
 That their deffignes could hardly prosper wel.

## 43

An infant King doth in the State succeed,<sup>2</sup>  
 Scarce one yeere old ; left vnto others guide :  
 Whose careful trust, though such as shew'd indeed,  
 They weigh'd their charge more then the world befide,  
 And did with dutie, zeale, and loue proceed ;  
 Yet (for all what their trauaile could prouide)  
 Could not woo Fortune, to remaine with vs,  
 When this her Minion was departed thus :

## 44

But, by degrees first this, then that, regain'd,  
 The turning tide beares backe, with flowing chaunce  
 Vnto the Dolphin, all we had attain'd,  
 And filles the late lowe-running hopes of *Fraunce* ;  
 When *Bedford* (who our onely hold maintain'd)  
 Death takes from vs, their fortune to aduance :  
 And then home-strife (that on it selfe did fall)  
 Neglecting forraine care, did soone lose all.

<sup>1</sup> Hen. 5. raigned 9. yeares and ten moneths, and died in the 36 yeare of his age.

<sup>2</sup> Hen. 6. scarce one yeere old when hee began his raigne, was committed o the charge of the two good Dukes, Bedford and Gloster his Vncles.

## 45

Neere three score yeeres are past since *Bullingbrooke*  
 Did first attaine (God knows how iust) the Crowne :  
 And now his race, for right possessors tooke,  
 Were held of all, to hold nought but their owne :  
 When *Richard, Duke of Yorke*, begins to looke  
 Into their right, and makes his title knowne ;  
 Wakening-vp sleeping Right (that lay as dead)  
 To witnesse, how his race was iniured.

## 46

His fathers end, in him, no feare could moue  
 T'attempt the like, against the like of might ;  
 Where long possession now of feare, and loue,  
 Seem'd to prescribe euen an innated Right.  
 So that, to proue his state, was to disproue  
 Time, law, consent, oath, and allegiance quight :  
 And no way, but the way of blood there was,  
 Through which, with all confusion hee must passe.

## 47

And how much better for him, had it beene,  
 T'indure a wrong with peace, then with such toyle  
 "T'obtaine a bloody Right? since Right is finne,  
 "That is ill fought, and purchafed with spoyle.  
 But, this so wretched state are Kingdomes in,  
 Where one mans Cause, shall all the rest imbroyle :  
 And oft, t'aduance a Tyran to a Crowne,  
 Men run t'vndoo the State, that is their owne.

St. 45, l. 7, 'Wrong' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 47, l. 1, 'O then' <sup>1</sup>: ll. 5-8—

'What madnes vnconstrained to begin  
 To right his state, to put the State in broyle?  
 Iustice her selfe maie euen do wrong in this,  
 No war be'ing right but that which needful is.'

## 48

And yet that opportunitie, which led  
 Him to attempt, seemes likewise him t'excuse :  
 A feeble spirited King that gouerned,  
 (Who ill could guide the Scepter he did vse)  
 His enemies (that his worth maliced ; -  
 Who, both the Land, and him, did much abuse)  
 The peoples loue, and his apparant Right,  
 May seeme sufficient motiues to incite.

## 49

Befides ; the now ripe wrath (deferd till now)  
 Of that sure and vnfayling *Iusticer*,  
 That neuer suffers wrong so long to growe,  
 And to incorporate with right so farre,  
 As it might come to seeme the same in shoue  
 (T'incourage those that euill minded are  
 By such succeffe) but that at last he will  
 Confound the branch, whose root was planted ill.

## 50

Else, might the impious fay (with grudging spight  
 Doth God permit the Great to riot free,  
 And bleffe the mightie though they do vnright,  
 As if he did unto their wrongs agree ?  
 And onely plague the weake and wretched wight,  
 For smallest faults, euen in the high't degree ?  
 When he, but vsing them for others scourge,  
 Likewise of them at lēgth the world doth purge.

St. 48, l. 4, 'Vnworthy of the' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 49, l. 3, misprinted 'neuers' in our text.

St. 50, l. 5, 'wights' (misprint) <sup>1</sup>.



## 51

But could not yet, for blood-fhed, fatisfie  
 The now well-ruling of th'ill-gotten Crowne ?  
 Muſt euen the good receiue the penaltie  
 Of former finnes, that neuer were their owne ?  
 And muſt a iuſt King's blood, with miſerie  
 Pay for a bad, vniuſtly ouerthrowne ?  
 Well ; then wee ſee, Right in his courſe muſt goe :  
 And men, t'eſcape from blood, muſt keepe it ſo.

## 52

And, ſure, this King, that now the Crowne poſſeſt  
 (*Henrie* the ſixt) was one, whoſe life was free  
 From that command of vice, whereto the reſt  
 Of moſt theſe mightie Soueraignes ſubieſts bee ;  
 And numbred might haue beene, among the beſt  
 Of other men, if not of that degree :  
 A right good man, but yet an euill King ;  
 Vnfit for what hee had in managing.

## 53

Of humble ſpirite, of nature continent :  
 No thought t'increase he had ; ſcarce keep his owne :  
 For pard'ning apter, then for puniſhment,  
 He chokes his powre, to haue his bountie knowne.  
 Farre from reuenge, ſoone wonne, ſoone made content ;  
 As fitter for a Cloyſter then a Crowne :  
 Whoſe holy minde ſo much addiſted is  
 On th'world to-come, that he neglecteth this.

St. 51, l. 1, 'ô' : l. 7, 'Then ô I due courſe muſt rightly' : l. 8, 'And th'earth muſt trace it or elſe purchaſe woe'.

St. 52, l. 4, 'Of many mighty'.

St. 53, l. 1, 'Mild, meeke a ſpirit, by . . . patient' : in <sup>2</sup>, l. 1, 'Humble of ſpirit, by nature patient' : l. 3, 'Apter for pardoning' : l. 4, 'ſeeking his bounty not his powre t'haue'.

## 54

With such a weake-good, feeble-godly King,  
Hath *Richard, Duke of Yorke*, his Cause to trie :  
Who, by th'experience of long managing  
The warres of *Fraunce*, with fupreame dignitie ;  
And by his owne great worth, with furthering  
The common good againft the enemie,  
Had wrought, that zeale and loue attend his might,  
And made his fpirit equall vnto his Right.

## 55

For, now the *Duke of Bedford* beeing dead,  
He is ordain'd the Regent to fucceed  
In *Fraunce*,<sup>1</sup> for fiae yeeres : where, he trauayled  
With ready hand, and with as carefull heed,  
To feeke to turne backe Fortune (that now fled)  
And hold vp falling Power, in time of need :  
And got and loft, and reattaines (again)  
That which againe was loft, for all his paine.

## 56

His time expir'd, he fhould for fiae yeeres more  
Haue had his charge prolong'd : but *Sommerfet*,<sup>2</sup>  
(That ftill had enui'd his command before)  
That place, and honor, for himfelfe did get :  
Which ads that matter to th'already ftore  
Of kindled hate, which fuch a fire doth fet  
Vnto the touch of a confounding flame,  
As both their bloods could neuer quench the fame.

<sup>1</sup> The D. of Yorke made Regent in Fraunce, after the death of the D. of Bedf.

<sup>2</sup> Edmond, Duke of Sommerfet, a great enemie of the Duke of Yorke.

## 57

And now the weakenesse of that feeble Head  
 (That doth neglect all care, but his foules care)  
 So easie meanes of practice ministred,  
 Vnto th'ambitious members, to prepare  
 Their owne desires, to what their humors led ;  
 That all good actions coldly followed are,  
 And sev'rall-tending hopes do wholly bend  
 To other now, then to the publique end.

## 58

And, to draw on more speedy miserie,  
 The King vnto a fatall match is led  
 With *Rayners*<sup>1</sup> daughter, King of *Sicilie* ;  
 Whom, with vnlucky starres, he married :  
 For, by the meanes of this affinitie,  
 Was lost all that his father conquered ;  
 Euen as if *France* had some *Erynnis* sent  
 T'auenge their wrongs, done by the insolent.

## 59

This marriage was the Earle of *Suffolkes*<sup>2</sup> deed,  
 With great rewardes won to effect the same :  
 Which made him that hee tooke so little heed  
 Vnto his Countries good, or his owne shame :  
 It beeing a match could stand vs in no steed  
 For strength, for wealth, for reputation, fame :

<sup>1</sup> This Rayner was Duke of Aniou, and onely enjoyed the title of the K. of Sicilia.

<sup>2</sup> William de la Pole E. of Suffolke, after created D. of Suff. the chiefeft instrumēt in this mariage : which was solemnized, An. Reg. 23. betweene the King & the Lady Margaret, daughter to Rayner D. of Aniou ; to whom was deliuered vp the Duchy of Aniou, & the Conty of Maine, vpon the conclusion of this match.

But cunningly contriv'd for others gaine ;  
And cost vs more, then *Aniou*, *Mauns*, and *Maine*.

## 60

And yet (as if he had accomplished  
Some mightie benefit vnto the Land)  
He got his trauailes to be registred  
In Parlement, for euermore to stand  
A witnes to approue all what he did :  
To th'end, that, if hereafter it were scand,  
Authoritie might yet be on his side ;  
As doing nought but what was ratif'd :

## 61

Imagining, th'allowance of that Place  
Would make that good, the which he knew was naught ;  
And so would his negotiation grace,  
As none might think it was his priuate fault.  
Wherein, though wit dealt wary in this case ;  
Yet, in the end, it felse it ouer-raught.  
Striuing to hide, he opened it the more ;  
His after-care, shewd craft had gone before.

## 62

Deare didst thou buy, ô King, so faire a Wife,  
So rare a spirit, so high a minde, the-while :  
Whose portion was destruction ; dowry, strife :  
Whose bed was sorrow ; whose embracing, spoyle :  
Whose maintenance cost thee and thine, their life ;  
And whose best comfort, neuer was but toyle.  
What *Paris* brought this booty of desire,  
To fet our mightie *Ilium* here on fire ?

St. 59, l. 7, 'contriued . . . their' <sup>1</sup>.

## 63

I grieve, I should be forc't to say thus much,  
 To blame her, whom I yet must wonder at ;  
 Whose so sweete beautie, wit, and worth, were such,  
 As (though she Fortune lost) she glory gat :  
 Yet doth my Countries zeale so neerely touch,  
 That here my Muse it doth exasperate ;  
 Although vnwilling, that my pen should giue  
 Staine to that sex, by whom her fame doth liue.

## 64

For, sure, those virtues well deserv'd a Crowne.  
 And, had it not beene ours, no doubt she might  
 Haue beene among the Worthies of renowne,  
 And now sat faire with fame, with glorie bright :  
 But, comming in the way where sinne was growne  
 So foule and thicke, it was her chaunce to light  
 Amidst the grosse infection of those times ;  
 And so came stain'd with black disgrace-full crimes.

## 65

For, some the world must haue, on whom to lay  
 The heauie burthen of reproche and blame ;  
 Against whose deedes, th'afflicted may inuay,  
 As th'onely Authors, whence destruction came :  
 When yet, perhaps, 'twas not in them to stay  
 The current of that streame, nor help the fame ;  
 But, liuing in the eye of Action so,  
 Not hindring it, are thought to draw-on wo.

St. 63, l. 1, 'that I am forc't' : l. 4, 'As euerlasting admiration gat' :  
 l. 6, 'That I am drawne to say I know not what' : l. 7, 'And yet ô that  
 my pen should euer'.

St. 64, l. 3, 'Haue matcht the worthiest that the world hath knowne'.

St. 65, l. 1, 'And'.

## 66

So much vnhappie do the Mightie stand,  
 Who stand on other then their owne defence,  
 When-as destruction is so neere at hand,  
 That if by weakenesse, folly, negligence,  
 They do not coming miserie withstand,  
 They shall be deemed th'authors of th'offence,  
 And to call in, that which they kept not out ;  
 And curst, as they who brought those plagues about.

## 67

And so remaine for euer rigiftred  
 In that eternall booke of Infamie ;  
 When yet how many other causes led  
 As well to that, as their iniquitie ?  
 The worst complots oft lie close smothered :  
 And well-meant deedes fall out vnluckily ;  
 Whil't the aggriev'd stand not to waigh th'intent ;  
 But euer iudge according to th'euent.

## 68

I say not this t'excuse thy Sinne, ô *Queene*,<sup>1</sup>  
 Nor cleare their faults who mightie Actors are :  
 I cannot but affirme, thy pride hath been  
 A speciall meanes this Common-wealth to marre :  
 And that thy weyward will was plainly seene,  
 In vaine ambition, to perfume too farre ;  
 And that, by thee, the onely way was wrought  
 The Duke of *Gloster* to his death was brought :

<sup>1</sup> The pride and hautinesse of this Queene Margaret gaue the first originall to the mischiefs that followed by the death of Humfrey Duke of Gloster Protector.

St. 66, l. 6, 'thought' : l. 8, 'those that'.

St. 67, l. 3, 'ô'.

## 69

A man, though seeming in thy thought to fit  
 Betweene the light of thy desires and thee ;  
 Yet did his taking thence plainly permit  
 Others to looke to that they could not see  
 During his life, nor would aduenture it :  
 When his Remoue quite made the passage free ;  
 That, by his fall, thinking to stand alone,  
 Thou scarce could'st stand at all, when he was gone.

## 70

For, this *Duke* (as *Protector*) many yeeres,  
 Had rul'd the Land, during the Kings young age ;  
 And now the selfe same charge and title beares,  
 As if hee still were in his pupillage :  
 Which, such disgrace vnto the Queene appeares,  
 That (all incens'd, with an ambitious rage)  
 Shee doth conspire to haue him made-away ;  
 As one, that stayd the Current of her sway :

## 71

Thrust thereinto, not onely with her pride ;  
 But, by her fathers counsell and consent :  
 Who griev'd likewise, that any one beside,  
 Should haue the honor of the gouernment :  
 And, therefore, he such deepe aduice appli'd,  
 As forraine craft and cunning could inuent,  
 To circumuent an vn suspecting wight,  
 Before he should discerne of their despight.

St. 70, l. 8, ' As who the course of her maine will doth staie ' <sup>1</sup>.

## 72

And many ready hands shee straight doth finde,  
 To ayde her deed, of such as could not brooke  
 The length of one mans office, in that kind ;  
 Who, all th'especiall Charges vnder-tooke,  
 Rul'd all, himselfe : and neuer had the minde  
 T'impart a part with others ; who would looke  
 To haue likewise some honor in their hands,  
 And griev'd at such ingrossing of Commands.

## 73

For, had he not had such a greedy loue  
 To intertaine his Offices too long,<sup>1</sup>  
 Enuie had beene vnable to reprove  
 His acted life, vnlesf shee did him wrong :  
 But, hauing liv'd, so many yeeres, aboue,  
 He grieues now to descend, to be lesse strong,  
 And kils that fame that virtue did beget ;  
 Chose to be held lesse good, then seene lesse great.

## 74

" For, could the mightie but giue bounds to pride,  
 " And weigh-backe Fortune, ere shee pull Them downe ;  
 " Contented with inough, with honors satisf'd,  
 " Not struiuing how to make so much their owne,  
 " As to leaue nothing for the rest beside ;  
 " Who seeme by their high-spredding ouer-growne  
 " (Whil't they themselues remaine in all mens fight,  
 " The odious marke of hatred and despight)

<sup>1</sup> *Nil tam utile, quàm breuem potestatem esse quæ magna sit.*

St. 72, l. 4, 'That to himselfe th'affaires all wholly' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 5, 'And ruling all had neuer any' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 6, 'that' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

St. 73, l. 1, 'And' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 2, 'Of still continuing of his charge' <sup>1</sup>: l. 4, 'without' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 74, l. 1, , O, <sup>1</sup>.



## 75

"Then neuer should so many tragedies  
 "Burthen our knowledge, with their bloody end :  
 "Nor their disgrac't confounded families,  
 "From so high pride, to so lowe shame descend ;  
 "But, planted on that ground where safetie lyes,  
 "Their braunches should to eternitie extend :  
 "But euer, they, who ouer-looke so much,  
 "Will ouer-see themselues ; their state is such.

## 76

Seuere he was, and strictly did obserue  
 Due forme of Iustice towards euery wight ;  
 Vnmoueable, and neuer won to swerue  
 For any cause, in what he thought was right<sup>1</sup> :  
 Wherein, although he did so well deferue ;  
 In the licentious, yet, it bred despight :  
 "So that euen Virtue seemes an Actor too,  
 "To ruine those, Fortune prepares t'vndoo.

## 77

Now, such, being forward, who (the Queene well knewe)  
 Hated his might, and glad to innouate ;  
 Vnto so great, and strong a partie grew,  
 As it was easie to subuert his State :  
 And onely hope of alteration drew  
 Many to yeeld, that had no cause to hate.  
 "For, euen with goodnesse men growe discontent,  
 "Where States are ripe to fall, and virtue spent.

<sup>1</sup> The Virtues of Humfrey D. Glocester.

St. 75, l. 1, 'Then should not ô'': l. 7, 'those that': l. 8, 'Must'.

St. 77, l. 1, 'Those, thus provided which',<sup>2</sup>,<sup>3</sup>: l. 4, 'As easie t'was to ouerthrow',<sup>2</sup>,<sup>3</sup>.

## 78

And, taking all the Rule into her hand  
 (Vnder the shadow of that feeble King)  
 The Duke sh'excludes from Office and Command,  
 And in the reach of enmitie doth bring,  
 From that respected height where he did stand  
 (When malice scarce durst mutter any thing) :  
 And now the worst of him comes all reueal'd,  
 Which former feare, or rigor kept conceal'd.

## 79

Now is he taxèd, that he rather fought  
 His priuate profit, then the publique good ;  
 And many things presumptuously had wrought ;  
 Other, then with our lawes, and customes stood :  
 As one, that would into the Land haue brought  
 The Ciuile forme, in cases touching blood ;  
 And such poore Crimes : that shew'd, their spight was  
 But yet bewrayde, their matter wanted ground. [sould ;

## 80

Yet serv'd they well the turne, and did effect  
 That which is easie wrought in such a case :  
 Where, what suborned *Injustice* shal obiect,  
 Is to the purpose, and must passe with grace ;  
 And what the wretched bring, of no effect :  
 Whose haynous faultes his matter must deface.  
 " For, where Powre hath decreed to finde th'offence,  
 " The Cause is better still, then the defence.

## 81

A Parlement, at *Berry* summoned,  
 Dispatcht the deed, more speedily then well.  
 For, thither came the *Duke* without all dread,  
 Or ought imagining of what befell :  
 Where, now the matter is so followed,  
 That he conuented is, ere he could tell  
 He was in danger, or had done offence ;  
 And prefently to pr    sent, from thence.<sup>1</sup>

## 82

Which quicke, and sodaine action gaue no time  
 For men to waigh the iustice of the deed ;  
 Whil't looking onely on the vrged crime,  
 Vnto the farther drift they take no heed.  
 For, these occasions taken in the prime  
 Of courtes new, that old dislikes succeed,  
 Leaue not behind that feeling touch of wrong :  
 Satiety makes passions still lesse strong.

## 83

And yet they seem'd some mutinie to doubt,  
 For thus proceeding with a man of might ;  
 Confid'ring hee was popular and stout,  
 And resolute would stand upon his Right :  
 And therefore did they cast this way about,  
 To haue him closely mured out of fight ;

<sup>1</sup> The D. of Gloucester comming to this Parlement from his Castle of the Vies in Wiltshire, was arrested by Iohn L. Beaumont high Constable, the Dukes of Buckingham and Somerset, with others ; who appointed certaine of the Kings household to attend vpon him : but he died before he was brought to his answere, some say of sorrow, others of a Palfie, or an Impostume, An. Reg. 25. The D. of Suffolke was a principall instrument in this bufinesse.

St. 81, l. 5, 'Whereas' <sup>1</sup>.

That so, his trouble, and his death hereby,  
Might come together, and together die :

84

Reckning it better, since his end is ment,  
And must be wrought, at once to rid it cleere,  
And put it to the fortune of th'euent ;  
Then by long doing, to be long in feare :  
When, in such courses of high punishment,  
The deed, and the attempt, like daunger beare :  
And oft, things done (perhaps) do lesse annoy,  
Then may the doing, handled with delay.

85

And, so, they had it straight accomplished.  
For, next day after his commitment, he  
Is dead brought forth ; being found so in his bed :  
Which was by sodaine sicknesse sayd to bee,  
That had vpon his sorrowes newly bred ;  
As by apparant tokens men might see.  
And thus ô *Sickenesse*, thou art oft belid ;  
When death hath many wayes to come, beside.

86.

Are these the deedes, high forraine wittes inuent ?  
Is this that Wifedome whereof they so boast ?  
Well ; then I would it neuer had beene spent  
Heere, amongst vs, nor brought from out their coast :  
Let their vile cunning, in their limits pent,  
Remaine amongst themselues, that like it most :  
And let the *North* (they count of colder blood)  
Be held more grosse, so it remaine more good.

St. 83, l. 1, ' Seeing he was most ' 1.

St. 85, l. 5, ' gathered ' 1.

St. 86, l. 3, ' O ' 1.

87

Let them haue fairer citties, goodlier foyles,  
And sweeter fieldes, for beautie to the eye,  
So long as they haue these vngodly wyles,  
Such detestable vile impietie :  
And let vs want their Vines, their Fruites the-whyles,  
So that wee want not fayth and honestie :  
We care not for those pleasures ; so we may  
Haue better hearts, and stronger hands then they.

88

*Neptune*, keepe-out, from thy imbraced Ile,  
This foul contagion of iniquitie :  
Drowne all corruptions, comming to defile  
Our faire proceedings ordred formally :  
Keepe vs meere English : let not craft beguile  
Honor and Iustice, with strange subtiltie :  
Let vs not thinke, how that our good can frame,  
Which ruin'd hath the Authors of the fame.

89

But, by this impious meanes, that worthy man  
Is brought vnto this lamentable end,  
And, now, that Current with maine furie ran  
(The stop remov'd, that did the course defend)  
Vnto the full of mischief, that began  
T'a vniuerfall ruine to extend ;  
That *Isthmus* fayling, which the Land did keep,  
From the intire possession of the Deepe.

## 90

And now the King, alone, all open lay;  
 No vnder-prop of Blood, to stay him by.  
 None, but himselfe stands weakely in the way  
 Twixt *Yorke*, and the affected sov'raignty:  
 Gone is that barre, that would haue beene the stay  
 T'haue kept him backe, from mounting vp so hie.  
 "But see (ah!) see: What state stand these men in,  
 "That cannot liue without, nor with their kin?

## 91

The *Queene* hath yet, by this, her full desire;  
 And now she with her Minion, *Suffolke*, reigns:  
 Now she hath all authoritie intire;  
 And all affayres vnto her selfe retains:  
 And onely *Suffolke* is aduanced hier,  
 He is the man rewarded, for his pains;<sup>1</sup>  
 He, that did her in stead most chiefly stand;  
 And more aduanc't her, then hee did the Land.

## 92

Which when they saw, who better did expect,  
 Then they began their error to descry;  
 And well perceiue, that onely the defect  
 Was in their iudgements, passion-drawne awry;  
 Found, formall rigor fitter to direct,  
 Then pride and insolent inconstancie.  
 "Better feueritie, that's right and iust,  
 "Then impotent affections, led with lust.

<sup>1</sup> De la Pole is created D. of Suffolke, Ann. Reg. 26. and is banished,  
 and murdered, the next yeare after.

St. 90, l. 7, 'ô in what a state' <sup>1</sup>.

## 93

And thereupon, in forrow thus complaine ;  
 " What wondrous inconuenience do they feele,  
 " Where as such imbecillitie doth raigne,  
 " As so neglects the care of Common-weale ?  
 " Where euer one or other doth obtaine  
 " So high a grace thus absolute to deale ;  
 " The-whilst th'agreeued subiect suffers, stil,  
 " The pride of some predominating will ?

## 94

" And euer, one remov'd, a worfe succeedes :  
 " So that the best, that we can hope, is Warre,  
 " Tumults, and stirres, that this disliking breeds :  
 " The sword must mend, what Insolence doth marre.  
 " For, what rebellions, and what bloody deedes,  
 " Haue euer followed, where such courtes are ?  
 " What oft-remoues ? what death of Counsailers ?  
 " What murder ? what exile of Officers ?

## 95

" Witnesse the *Spencers*, *Gauestone*, and *Vere*,  
 " The mighty Minions of our feeblest Kings ;  
 " Who euer Subiects to their subiects were,  
 " And onely the procurers of these things :  
 " When worthy Monarchs, that hold honour deare,  
 " Maister themselues, and theirs ; vvhich euer brings  
 " That vniuerfall reuerence, and respect :  
 " For, who waighes him, that doth himselfe neglect ?

St. 93, l. 2, 'O what great' l.

## 96

" And yet our cafe is like to be farre worfe :  
 " Hauing a King, though not so bent to ill,  
 " Yet so neglecting good, that giuing force  
 " By giuing leaue, doth all good order kill ;  
 " Suffring a violent Woman take her courfe,  
 " To manage all, according to her will :  
 " Which, how she doth begin, her deedes expresse ;  
 " And, what will be the end, our selues may ghesse.

## 97

Which after followed, euen as they did dread,  
 When now the shamefull losse of *Fraunce*,<sup>1</sup> much grieues:  
 Which vnto *Suffolke* is attributed :  
 As who in all mens fight most hatefull liues :  
 And is accus'd,<sup>2</sup> that he (with lucre led)  
 Betraies the State, and secreet knowledge giues  
 Of our designes ; and, all that we did hold,  
 By his corruption, is or lost, or fold.

## 98

And, as hee deales abroad, so likewise here,  
 He robs at home, the Treasurie no lesse ;  
 Here, where he all authorities doth beare,  
 And makes a *Monopoly* of Offices :  
 He is inricht, h'is raif'd, and placèd neare ;  
 And onely he, giues counsaile to oppresse :

<sup>1</sup> The Duchy of Normandy was lost, in the yeere 1449, after it had been held 30 yeeres conquered by Hen. 5. Ann. Reg. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Articles objected against de la Poole, Duke of Suffolke.

St. 97, l. 1, ' Thus well they deem'd what after followed ' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> : l. 5, ' He with the enemy confedered ' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> : l. 7, ' Of all our strength ; that ' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.  
 St. 98, l. 5, misprinted ' His ' in our text.



Thus men object,<sup>1</sup> whil'st many, vp in Armes,  
Offer to be reuenged of these harmes.

99

The *Queene*, perceiuing in what case she stooode  
To lose her Minion, or ingage her State ;  
(After with long contention in her blood,  
Loue and Ambition, did the Cause debate)  
Shee yields to Pride : and rather thought it good,  
To sacrifice her Loue vnto their hate ;  
Then to aduenture else the losse of all :  
Which (by maintaining him) was like to fall.

100

Yet, seeking at the first to temporize,  
Shee tries if that some short Imprisonment  
Would calme their heat : when that would not suffice,  
Then to exile him she must needs consent ;  
Hoping, that time would salue it in such wife,  
As yet at length they might become content,  
And shee againe, might haue him home at last,  
When this first furie of their rage was past.

101

But, as he to his iudged exile went,  
Hard on the shore he comes incountered<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the Parliamēt at Leiceſter, the lower Houſe befought the K. that ſuch perſons as aſſented to the rendring of Anjou and Maine, might bee duely puniſhed : of which fact, they accuſed as principals, the D. of Suffolke, the L. Say, Treafurer of Eng. with others. Wherevpon, the K. to appeaſe the Commons, ſequeſtered them from their offices & rooms : and after, baniſhed the D. for 5 yeeres.

<sup>2</sup> As the D. vvas ſayling into France, hee was incouūtered with a ſhip of Warre, appertaining to the D. of Exceſter : who tooke him, & brought him back to Douer : where his head was ſtriken off, and his body left on the ſands. Ann. reg. 27.

By some, that so farre off his Honour sent,  
 As put his backe-returne quite out of dread :  
 For, there he had his rightfull punishment,  
 Though wrongly done ; and there he lost his head :  
 Part of his blood hath *Neptune*, part the Sand ;  
 As who had mischief wrought by sea and land.

## 102

Whose death, when swift-wingd Fame at full conuaid  
 To this disturbed *Queene*, misdoubting nought ;  
 Despight, and Sorrow such affliction laid  
 Vpon her foule, as wondrous passions wrought.  
 " And art thou *Suffolke*, thus, said she, betraid ?  
 " And haue my fauours thy destruction brought ?  
 " Is this their gaine, whom Highnesse fauoureth,  
 " Who chiefe preferd, stand as preferd to death ?

## 103

" O fatall grace ! without which, men complaine,  
 " And with it perish ; what preuailes that we  
 " Must weare the Crowne, and other men must raigne,  
 " And cannot stand to be, that which we be ?  
 " Must our owne Subiects limit and constraîne  
 " Our fauours, wher-as they themselues decree ?  
 " Must we, our loue, at their appointment, place ?  
 " Do we commaund, and they direct our grace ?

St. 102, l. 2, 'Vnto the trauaile' : l. 5, 'O God (saith she) and art thou thus'.

St. 103, l. 3, 'Thus beare the title of a Soueraigne' : l. 4, 'And suffred not' : l. 5, 'O must our'.

## 104

" Must they our powre, thus from our will, diuide?  
 " And haue wee might, but must not vse our might?  
 " Poore Maiestie, which other men must guide;  
 " Whose discontent can neuer looke aright:  
 " For, euer-more wee see those who abide  
 " Gracious in ours, are odious in their fight,  
 " Who would all-maistring Maiestie defeat  
 " Of her best grace; that is, to make men Great.

St. 104, l. 1, 'O will they then our powre aid' 1; in 2, 3, 'Will they our powre thus from our will deuide': l. 3, 'that' 1: l. 5, 'that' 1.

After st. 104 (= 106) come the following:—

## 107.

Deere *Suffolke*, ô I saw thy wofull cheere  
 When thou perceiudst no helpe but to depart:  
 I saw that looke wherein did plaine appeare  
 The lamentable message of thy heart:  
 That seemd to say: O *Queene*, and canst thou beare  
 My ruine so? the cause whereof thou art:  
 Canst thou indure to see them worke their will  
 And not defend me from the hand of ill?

## 108.

Haue I for thee aduentured so much,  
 Made shipwracke of my honor, faith and fame?  
 And doth my seruice giue no deeper touch  
 To thy hard heart better to feele the same?  
 Or dost thou feare, or is thy weakenes such  
 As not of force to keepe me from this shame?  
 Or else now hauing seru'd thy turne of me,  
 Art well-content my ouerthrow to see?

## 109.

As if my sight did read vnto thy minde  
 The lecture of that shame thou wouldst forget,  
 And therefore peradventure glad to finde  
 So fit occasion, dost it forward set:  
 Or else thy selfe from dangerous toile t'vnwinde  
 Downe on my necke dost all the burthen let;

105

" But, well ; We see, although the King be Head,  
 " The State will be the Heart. This Soueraigntie  
 " Is but in place, not powre ; and gouerned  
 " By th'equall Scepter of *Necessitie*.  
 " And we haue seene more Princes ruined,  
 " By their imoderat fauouring priuatly,  
 " Then by feuerity in generall.  
 " For, best h'is lik't, that is alike to all.

106

Thus stormes this Lady, all disquieted ;  
 When-as farre greater tumults now burst out :  
 Which clofe and cunningly were practiced,  
 By such, as sought great hopes to bring about.  
 For, vp in Armes in *Kent* were gathered  
 A mighty insolent rebellious rout,  
 Vnder a dangerous Head ; who, to deterr  
 The State the more, himfelfe nam'd *Mortimer*.<sup>1</sup>

Since kings must haue some hated worfe then they,  
 On whom they may the waight of enuy lay.

110.

No *Suffolke*, none of this, my soule is cleere ;  
 Without the thought of such impiety :  
 Yet must I needes confesse that too much feare  
 Made me defend thee lesse courageously :  
 Seeing more Princes euer ruined were  
 By their immoderate fauoring priuately  
 Then by feueritie in generall :  
 For best h'is lik't, that is alike to all.

(Cf. ll. 5—8 of st. 110 with st. 105. So <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.)

St. 105, ll. 1—4 not in <sup>1</sup>. St. 106, l. 6, 'That' <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Commons of Kent assembled theselues in great nūber : and had to their Captaine Iack Cade, who named himfelfe Mortimer, Cofen to the Duke of Yorke : vvith purpose to redresse the abuses of the gouernement.

## 107

The *Duke of Yorke*, that did not idle stand  
(But seekes to worke on all aduantages)  
Had likewise in this course a secret hand,  
And hartned on their chiefeft complices ;  
To try how here the people of the Land  
Would (if occasion serv'd) b'in readines  
To aide that Line, if one should come in deed  
To moue his Right, and in due course proceed ;

## 108

Knowing himselfe to be the onely one,  
That must attempt the thing, if any should :  
And therefore, lets the Rebelle now run-on  
With that false Name, t'effect the best he could ;  
To make a way for him to worke vpon,  
Who but on certaine ground aduventure would.  
For, if the Traitor sped, the gaine were his ;  
If not, yet he stands safe, and blamelesse is.

## 109

T'attempt' with others dangers, not his owne,  
He counts it wisedome, if it could be wrought :  
And t'haue the humour of the people knowne,  
Was now that, which was chiefly to be fought.  
For, with the best, he knew himselfe was growne  
In such account, as made him take no thought ;  
Hauing observ'd, in those he meant to proue,  
Their wit, their wealth, their cariage, and their loue.

## 110

With whome, and with his owne alliances,  
 He first begins to open (in some wise)  
 The Right he had ; yet, with such doubtfulness,  
 As rather sorrow, then his drift descries :  
 Complayning of his Countries wretchednes,  
 In what a miserable case it lies ;  
 And how much it imports them to prouide  
 For their defence, against this womans pride.

## 111

Then, with the discontented he doth deale,  
 In founding theirs, not vttering his intent ;  
 As be'ing aduif'd, not so much to reueale,  
 Whereby they might be made againe content :  
 But, when they griued for the Common-weale,  
 He doth perswade them to be patient,  
 And to indure ; there was no other course :  
 Yet, so perswades, as makes their malice worfe.

## 112

And then, with such as with the time did run,  
 In most vpright opinion he doth stand ;  
 As one, that neuer crost what they begun,  
 But seem'd to like that which they tooke in hand :  
 Seeking all causes of offence to shun,  
 Prayses the Rule, and blames th'vnruely Land ;  
 Works so with gifts, and kindly offices,  
 That, euen of them, he serues his turne no lesse.

St. 111, l. 1, 'Then in her passion lo she vttered'¹, ²: l. 3, 'As being sure'¹.

St. 112, l. 2, 'He doth in most'¹.

## 113

Then, as for those, who were his followers  
(Being all choyce men for virtues, or defearts)  
He so with grace, and benefits prefers,  
That he becomes the Monarch of their hearts.  
He gets the learned, for his Counsaylers ;  
And cherishes all men of rarest parts :  
" To whom, good done, doth an impreffiō strike  
" Of ioy and loue, in all that are alike.

## 114

And now, by meanes of th'intermitted warre,  
Many most valiant men, impov'rished,  
Onely by him fed and relieued are ;  
Onely respected, grac't and honoured.  
Which let him in, vnto their hearts so farre,  
As they by him were wholly to be led.  
" He onely treads the sure and perfect path  
" To Greatnesse, who loue and opinion hath.

## 115

And, to haue one some certaine Prouince his,  
As the maine body that must worke the feate,  
*Yorkeeshire* he chose, the place wherein he is  
By title, liuings, and possessions great.  
No Country hee preferres, so much as this :  
Here, hath his Bountie, her abiding seat :  
Here, is his Iustice, and relieuing hand,  
Ready to all, that in distresse do stand.

## 116

What with his tenants, seruants, followers, friends,  
And their alliances, and amities,  
All that *Shire* vniuerfally attends  
His hand, held vp to any enterprize.  
And thus farre, Virtue with her power extends :  
The rest, touching th'euent, in Fortune lies.  
With which accomplements, so mightie growne,  
Forward he tends, with hope t'attaine a Crowne.

*The ende of the fift Booke.*





# THE SIXT BOOKE.<sup>1</sup>

## THE ARGVMENT.

*The bad successe of Cades rebellion :  
Yorke open practife and con'spiracie :  
His comming in, and his submission :  
Th'effect of Printing and Artillerie.  
Burdeaux reuolts ; craues our protection :  
Talbot, defending ours, dyes gloriously.  
The French warres end : and Yorke begins againe ;  
And, at S. Albones, Sommerfet is slaine.*

## I



HE furious traine of that tumultuous  
rout,  
Whom close sub-ayding power, and  
good successe,  
Had made vnwisely proud, and  
fondly stout,  
Thrust headlong on, oppreffion to  
opresse ;

<sup>1</sup> In <sup>1</sup>, Book 'Sixt' here is Book 'Fyft,' and as in the preceding I give various readings from it and <sup>2</sup>,<sup>3</sup>. Book 'Fyft' was first published in <sup>2</sup> (1599). Appended, however, to some copies of 1595 edition is Book 'Fift,' identical

And now, to fulnesse growne, boldly giue out,  
 That they the publike wrongs meant to redresse:<sup>1</sup>  
 "Formeleffe themselues, reforming doe pretend;  
 "As if Confusion could Diforder mend.

## 2

And on they march, with their false-named Head,  
 Of bafe and vulgar birth, though noble fayn'd;  
 Who, puffed with vaine desires, to London led  
 His rash abused troupes, with shadowes train'd:  
 When-as the King, thereof ascertained,  
 Supposing some small power would haue restrain'd  
 Difordred rage, sends with a simple crew  
 Sir *Humfrey Stafford*; whom they ouer-threw.

## 3

Which so increast th'opinion of their might,  
 That much it gaue to do, and much it wrought;  
 Confirm'd their rage, drew on the vulgar wight,  
 Call'd forth the timorous, fresh partakers brought:

throughout with 1599, save that folio 89, in the head-line, wood-cut ornament and wood-cut border of the Argument are different from 1599, and spells 'fyft' in 1595 and 'fift' in 1599, 1601, and 1602. The Heading in both is 'The fift Booke of the Ciuill warres betweene the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*.'

<sup>1</sup> The Commons of Kent with their Leader Iacke Cade diuulge their many grieuances: amongst which, That the King was driuen to liue onely on his Commons; & other men to inioy the Reuenues of the Crowne; which caused pouertie in his Maiestie, and the great payments of the people, now late granted to the King in Parlement. Also they desire, that the King would remoue all the false progeny and affinitie of the late D. of Suffolke which be openly knowne, and them to punish, and to take about his person the true Lords of his royall bloud; to wit, the mightie Prince the D. of Yorke, late exiled by the traytrous motion of the false D. of Suffolke, and his affinitie, &c. Also they craue that they who contriued the death of the high and mighty Prince, Humfrey D. of Glocester, might haue punishment.

For, many, though most glad their wrongs to right,  
 Yet durst not venture their estates for nought :  
 But, see'ing the Cause had such aduantage got,  
 Occasion makes them stirre, that else would not.

## 4

So much he erres, that scornes, or else neglects  
 The small beginnings of anying broyles ;  
 And censures others, not his owne defects,  
 And with a selfe-conceite himfelfe beguiles ;  
 Thinking small force will compasse great effects,  
 And spares at first to buy more costly toyles :  
 " When true-observing prouidence, in warre,  
 " Still makes her foes, farre stronger then they are.

## 5

Yet this good fortune, all their fortune mard ;  
 " Which, fooles by helping, euer doth suppressse.  
 For, wareless insolence (whil't vndebar'd  
 Of bounding awe) runnes on to such excessse,  
 That following lust, and spoyle, and blood, so hard,  
 Sees not how they procure their owne distresse :  
 The better, lothing courses so impure,  
 Rather will like their wounds, then such a cure.

## 6

For, whil't this wilde vnrained multitude  
 (Led with an vnfore-seeing greedy mind  
 Of an imagin'd good, that did delude  
 Their ignorance, in their desires made blind)  
 Ranfacke the Cittie, and (with hands imbru'd)  
 Run to all out-rage in th'extreamest kind ;  
 Heaping-vp wrath and horreur, more and more,  
 They adde fresh guilt, to mischiefes done before.

## 7

And yet, se'ing all this forting to no end,  
 But to their owne ; no promif'd ayde t'apppeare ;  
 No fuch partakers as they did attend ;  
 Nor fuch successes as imagin'd were ;  
 Good men resolv'd, the present to defend ;  
 Iustice, against them with a brow feuere :  
 Themselues, feard of themselues, tyr'd with excesse,  
 " Found, mischief was no fit way to redresse.

## 8

And as they stand in desperat comberment,  
 Enuiron'd round with horror, blood, and shame :  
 Croft of their course, despayring of th'euent  
 A pardon (that smooth bait for basenesse) came :

St. 7, l. 1, ' And seeing yet . . . dread ' 1, 2, 3.

After st. 7 come the two following in 1 :—

## 8.

Like when a greedy Pyrat hard in chace  
 Purfuing of a rich supposed prize,  
 Works for the winds, plyes sayles, beares vp a pace,  
 Out-runnes the cloudes, scoures after her that flies ;  
 Pryde in his hart, and wealth before his face :  
 Keepest his hands wrought, and fixed keepest his eyes,  
 So long, till that ingag'd within some straight  
 He falles amid his foes, layd close in wayt.

## 9.

Where all too late discouering round about  
 Danger and death the purchase of his haft ;  
 And no backe flying, no way to get out,  
 But there to perrish, or to yeeld disgrast,  
 Curfing his error, yet in th'error stout :  
 Hee toyles for life, now charges, now is chafte :  
 Then quailles, and then fresh courage takes againe,  
 Striuing t'vnwind himselfe, but all in vaine. So 2, 3.

St. 8, l. 1, ' So stands this rout ' 1, 2, 3 : l. 4, ' When . . . of ' 1, 2, 3.

Which (as a snare, to catch the impotent)  
 Beeing once pronounc't, they straight imbrace the same:  
 And, as huge snowy Mountaines melt with heat;  
 So they dissolv'd with hope, and home they get:

## 9

Leaving their Captaine to discharge, alone,  
 The shot of blood, consumed in their heate<sup>1</sup>:  
 Too small a sacrifice, for mischiefs done,  
 Was one mans breath, which thousands did defeat.  
 Vnrightheous Death, why art thou but all one  
 Vnto the small offender and the great?  
 Why art thou not more then thou art, to those  
 That thousands spoyle, and thousands liues do lose?

## 10

This furie, passing with so quick an end,  
 Disclof'd not those that on th'advantage lay:  
 Who, seeing the course to such disorder tend,  
 With-drew their foote, asham'd to take that way;  
 Or else preuented, whil't they did attend  
 Some mightier force, or for occasion stay:  
 But, what they meant, ill-fortune must not tell;  
 Mischiefe be'ing oft made good, by speeding well.

## 11

Put-by from this, the Duke of *Yorke* designes  
 Another course to bring his hopes about<sup>2</sup>:  
 And, with those friends affinitie combines  
 In surest bonds, his thoughts he poureth-out:

St. 8, l. 5, 'Pardon (the snare)' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Anno Reg. 29.

<sup>2</sup> The D. of York, who at this time was in Ireland (sent thither to appease  
 a Rebellion: which hee effected in such sort, as got him & his linage

And clofely feeles, and clofely vndermines  
 The faith of whom he had both hope and doubt ;  
 Meaning, in more apparant open courfe,  
 To try his right, his fortune, and his force.

## 12

Loue, and alliance, had moft firmly ioynd  
 Vnto his part, that mighty Familie,  
 The faire diftended flock of *Neuiles* kind ;  
 Great by their many iffued progenie :  
 But greater by their worth (that clearly fhin'd,  
 And gaue faire light to their nobilitie)  
 So that each corner of the Land became  
 Enricht with fome great *Worthy*, of that name.

exceeding loue and liking with that people euer after) returning home, and pretending great iniuries to be offered him, both whiles hee was in the K. feruice, & likewise vpon his landing in North-wales, combines himfelf with Ric. Neuile E. of Salif. fecod fon to Ralph, E. of Weftmerland (whose daughter hee had married) & with Ri. Neuile the fon, E. of Warw. with other his especiall friēds, with whō he confults, for the reformation of the gouernment, after hee had complained of the great diforders therein : Laying the blame, for the loffe of Normādy vpō the D. of Sommerf. whom, vpon his returning thence, hee caufed to be arrefted and committed.

St. 12, ll. 7, 8—' A mightie partie for a mightie caufe,  
 By theyr vnited amitie hee drawes ' <sup>1</sup>.

After st. 12 (= 14) comes this in <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> :—

' For as the fpredding members of proud *Po*,  
 That thoufand-branched *Po*, whose limnes embrace  
 Thy fertile and delicious body fo  
 Sweet *Lombardie*, and bea[ut]ifies thy face :  
 Such feem'd this powreful flock, frō whence did grow  
 So many great difcents, fpredding theyr race  
 That euery corner of the Land became  
 Enricht with fome great *Heroes* of that name.'

## 13

But greateſt in renowne doth *Warwicke* fit ;  
 That braue King-maker *Warwicke* ; ſo farre growne,  
 In grace with Fortune, that he gouerns it,  
 And Monarchs makes ; and, made, againe puts downe.  
 What reuolutions, his firſt-mouing wit  
 Heere brought about, are more then too well knowne ;  
 The fatall kindle-fire of thoſe hot daies :  
 Whoſe worth I may, whoſe worke I cannot praiſe.

## 14

With him, with *Richard*, Earle of *Salisbury*,  
*Courtney* and *Brooke*, and other his deare friends ;  
 He intimates his minde ; and openly  
 The preſent bad proceedings diſcommends ;  
 Laments the State, the peoples miſery,  
 And (that which ſuch a pitier ſeldom mends)  
 Oppreſſion, that ſharp two-edged ſword,  
 That others wounds, and wounds likewise his Lord.

## 15

“ My Lords (faith he) how things are caried heere,  
 “ In this corrupted State, you plainly ſee ;  
 “ What burthen our abuſed ſhoulders beare,  
 “ Charg’d with the waight of imbecillitie :  
 “ And in what baſe account all we appeare,  
 “ That ſtand without their grace that all muſt be ;  
 “ And who they be, and how their courſe ſucceedes,  
 “ Our ſhame reports, and time bewraies their deedes.

St. 15, l. 1, ‘Lord’<sup>1</sup> (bad) : ‘Lords’ in <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

## 16

" *Aniou* and *Maine* (the name that foule appears ;  
 " Th'eternall scarre of our dismembred Land)  
 " *Guien*, all loft ; that did, three hundred yeares,  
 " Remaine subiected vnder our Commaund.  
 " From whence, mee thinks, there founds vnto our eares  
 " The voice of those deare ghosts, whose liuing hand  
 " Got it with sweat, and kept it with their blood,  
 " To doe vs (thanklefs vs) their of-spring good :

## 17

" And seeme to cry ; What ? can you thus behold  
 " Their hatefull feete vpon our Graues should tread ?  
 " Your Fathers Graues ; who gloriously did hold  
 " That, which your shame hath left recouered ?  
 " Redeeme our Tumbs, O spirits too too cold :  
 " Pull-backe these Towres, our Armes haue honored.  
 " These Towres are yours : these Forts we built for you :  
 " These walles doe beare our names ; and are your due.

## 18

" Thus, well they may vpbraide our retchlesnes ;  
 " Whil't wee, as if at league with infamie,  
 " Ryot away, for nought, whole Prouinces ;  
 " Giue-vp, as nothing worth, all *Normandie* ;  
 " Traffique important Holdes, sell Fortresses  
 " So long, that nought is left but misery ;  
 " Poore *Calais*, and these water-walles about,  
 " That basely pownd vs in, from breaking out.

St. 16, l. 1, in ' misprinted 'O maine' : l. 2, no 'Th' in ' : l. 3, 'And  
 Guiens loft'.

St. 17, l. 1, 'O how'.

St. 18, l. 1, 'obrayd' : l. 5, 'strong holds' : l. 8, 'pownds'.



## 19

" And (which is worfe) I feare, we fhall in th'end  
 " (Throwne from the glory of inuading Warre)  
 " Be forc't our proper limits to defend :  
 " Where euer men are not the fame they are,  
 " The hope of conqueft, doth their fpirits extend  
 " Beyond the vfuall powres of valour, farre :  
 " For, more is he that ventureth for more,  
 " Then who fights, but for what hee had before.

## 20

" Put-to your hands, therefore, to refkew now  
 " Th'indangered State (deare Lords) from this difgrace:  
 " And let vs in our honour, labour how  
 " To bring this fcorned Land in better cafe.  
 " No doubt, but God our action will allow,  
 " That knowes my right, and how they rule the place,  
 " Whofe weakenefs calls-vp our vnwillingneffe ;  
 " As opening euen the doore to our redrefse.

## 21

" Though I proteft, it is not for a Crowne  
 " My foule is moov'd (yet, if it be my right,  
 " I haue no reason to refufe mine owne)  
 " But onely thefe indignities to right.  
 " And what if God (whofe iudgements are vnknowne)  
 " Hath me ordain'd the man, that by my might  
 " My Country fhall be bleft? If fo it be ;  
 " By helping me, you raife your felues with me.

## 22

Those, in whom zeale and amity had bred  
 A fore-impression of the right he had,  
 These stirring words so much encouraged,  
 That (with desire of innouation mad)  
 They seem'd to runne-afore, not to be led ;  
 And to his fire doe quicker fuell adde :  
 For, where such humors are prepar'd before ;  
 The opening them, makes them abound the more.

## 23

Then counsell take they, fitting their desire :  
 (For, nought that fits not their desire is waigh'd)  
 The Duke is straight aduised to retire  
 Into the bounds of *Wales*, to leaue ayd<sup>1</sup> :  
 Which vnder smooth pretence he doth require ;  
 T'amoue such persons as the State betray'd,  
 And to redresse th'oppression of the Land ;  
 The charme, which Weakenesse seldome doth withstand.

## 24

Ten thousand, straight caught with this bait of breath,  
 Are towards greater lookt-for forces led :  
 Whose power, the King, by all meanes, trauaileth  
 In their arising to haue ruined :

St. 22, l. 1, ' In those whom ' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The D. of Yorke raiseth an Army in the marches of Wales, vnder pretext to remoue diuers Counsellors about the King, and to reuenge the manifest iniuries don to the Commonwealth : & withal, he publisheth a declaratiō of his loyalty, and the wrongs done him by his aduerfaries ; offering to take his oath vpō the blessed Sacrament, to haue been euer true liege-man to the K. and so euer to continue. Which declaration, was written from his Castle of Ludlow, the 9 of Ianua. An. reg. 30. The 16 of Febru. the K. vvith the D. of Sōmerfet, & other LL. set forward towards the Marches : but the D. of Yorke, took other waies, and made vp towards London.

But, their preuenting Head so compaffeth,  
That all ambushments warily are fled ;  
Refufing ought to hazard by the way,  
Keeping his Greatneffe for a greater day.

## 25

And to the Cittie ftraight directs his courfe ;  
The Cittie, feate of Kings, and Kings chiefe grace :  
Where, hauing found his entertainment worfe  
By farre, then he expected in that place ;  
Much difappointed, drawes from thence his force,  
And towards better truft, marcheth apace ;  
And downe in *Kent* (fatall for difcontents)  
Neere to thy bankes, faire *Thames*, doth pitch his tents.

## 26

And there, intrencht, plants his Artillerie ;  
Artillerie, th'infernall instrument,  
New-brought from hell,<sup>1</sup> to fcouge mortalitie  
With hideous roaring, and astonifhment :  
Engine of horroure, fram'd to terrifie  
And teare the Earth, and ftrongeft Towres to rent :  
Torment of Thunder, made to mocke the skies ;  
As more of power, in our calamities.

## 27

If that firft fire (fubtile *Prometheus* brought)  
Stolne out of heaven, did fo afflict man-kinde,  
That euer fince, plagu'd with a curious thought  
Of stirring fearch, could neuer quiet finde ;

<sup>1</sup> The ufe of Guns, and great Ordinance, began about this time, or<sup>2</sup> not long before.

St. 25, l. 3, 'finding of' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 27, l. 1, 'O if the' <sup>1</sup>: no 'O' in <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

What hath he done, who now by stealth hath got  
 Lightning and thunder both, in wondrous kinde?  
 What plague deferues so proud an enterprize?  
 Tell Muse, and how it came, and in what wise.

## 28

It was the time, when faire *Europa*<sup>1</sup> fate  
 With many goodly Diadems addrest;  
 And all her parts in flourishing estate  
 Lay beautiful, in order, at their rest:  
 No swelling member, vnproportionate,  
 Growne out of forme, sought to disturbe the rest:  
 The lesse, subsisting by the greater's might;  
 The greater, by the lesser kept vpright.

## 29

No noise of tumult euer wak't them all:  
 Onely, perhaps, some priuate iarre within,  
 For titles, or for confines, might befall;  
 Which, ended soone, made better loue begin:  
 But no eruption did, in generall,  
 Breake down their rest, with vniuerfall fin:  
 No publike shock disioynted this faire frame,  
 Till *Nemesis* from out the Orient came;

<sup>1</sup> This principall part of Europe, which contained the most flourishing state of Christendom, was at this time in the hands of many seuerall Princes, and Commonwealths, which quietly gouerned the same: for, being so many, and none ouer-great, they were lesse attemptiue to disturbe others, & more carefull to keepe their owne, with a mutuall correspondēce of amitie. As Italy had the many more principalities & Commonwealths then it hath: Spaine was diuided into many kingdoms: France consisted of diuers free Princes: Both the Germanies of many more Gouernments.

## 30

Fierce *Nemesis*, mother of fate and change,  
 Sword-bearer of th'eternall Prouidence  
 (That had so long, with such afflictions strange,  
 Confounded *Asias* proud magnificence,  
 And brought foule impious Barbarisme to range  
 On all the glory of her excellence)  
 Turnes her sterne looke at last vnto the West ;  
 As griev'd to see on earth such happy rest.

## 31

And for *Pandora* calleth presently  
 (*Pandora*, *Ioues* faire gift, that first deceiv'd  
 Poore *Epimetheus* imbecillitie,  
 That thought he had a wondrous boone receiv'd ;  
 By means whereof, curious Mortalitie  
 Was of all former quiet quite bereav'd) :  
 To whom, beeing come, deckt with all qualities,  
 The wrathfull Goddesse breakes out in this wise :

## 32

Dooft thou not see in what secure estate  
 Those flourishing faire Westerne parts remaine ?  
 As if they had made couenaunt with Fate,  
 To be exempted free from others paine ;  
 At-one with their desires, friends with Debate,  
 In peace with Pride, content with their owne gaine ;  
 Their bounds containe their minds, their minds appli'd.  
 To haue their bounds with plentie beautifi'd.

## 33

Deuotion (mother of Obedience)  
 Beares such a hand on their credulitie,  
 That it abates the spirit of eminence,  
 And busies them with humble pietie.  
 For, see what workes, what infinite expence,  
 What monuments of zeale they edifie ;  
 As if they would; so that no stop were found,  
 Fill all with Temples, make all holy ground.

## 34

But wee must coole this all-belieuing zeale,  
 That hath enioy'd so faire a turne so long ;  
 And other reuolutions must reueale,  
 Other desires, other designs among :  
 Dislike of this, first by degrees shall steale  
 Vpon the soules of men, perfwaded wrong :  
 And that abused Power,<sup>1</sup> which thus hath wrought,  
 Shall giue herselfe the sword to cut her throat.

## 35

Goe therefore thou, with all thy stirring traine  
 Of swelling Sciences, the gifts of grieve :  
 Go loofe the links of that soule-binding chaine ;  
 Inlarge this vninquisitiue Beliefe :  
 Call-vp mens spirits, that simplenes retaine :  
 Enter their harts, & Knowledge make the thiefe  
 To open all the doores, to let in light ;  
 That all may all things see, but what is right.

<sup>1</sup> The Church.

St. 34, l. 7, 'And th'abus'd power that such a power hath got' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

St. 35, l. 1, 'Goe thou therefore' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 5, '... when darknes doth detain' <sup>1</sup>.

## 36

Opinion Arme against Opinion growne :  
 Make new-borne Contradiſtion ſtill to riſe ;  
 As if *Thebes*-founder, *Cadmus*, tongues had ſowne,  
 Inſtead of teeth, for greater mutinies.  
 Bring new-defended Faith, againſt Faith knowne :  
 Weary the Soule with contrarieties ;  
 Till all Religion become retrograde,  
 And that faire tire, the maſke of ſinne be made.

## 37

And, better to effect a ſpeedy end,  
 Let there be found two fatall Inſtruments,  
 The one to publiſh, th'other to defend,  
 Impious Contention, and proud Diſcontents :  
 Make, that inſtamped Characters may ſend  
 Abroad, to thouſands, thouſand mens intent ;  
 And in a moment may diſpatch much more,  
 Then could a world of Pennes performe before.

## 38

Whereby, all quarrels, titles, ſecrecies,  
 May vnto all be preſently made knowne ;  
 Faſtions prepar'd, parties allur'd to riſe,  
 Sedition vnder faire pretentions ſowne :  
 Whereby, the vulgar may become ſo wiſe,  
 That (with a ſelf-prefumption ouer-growne)  
 They may of deepeſt myſteries debate,  
 Controule their betters, cenſure actes of State.

## 39

And then, when this disperfed mischief shall  
 Haue brought confufion in each myfterie,  
 Call'd-vp contempt of ftates in generall,  
 Ripened the humor of impiety ;  
 Then haue they th'other Engin, where-with-all  
 They may torment their felfe-wrought miferie,  
 And fcouge each other, in fo ftrange a wife,  
 As time or Tyrants neuer could deuife.

## 40

For, by this stratagem, they fhall confound  
 All th'antient forme and difcipline of Warre :  
 Alter their Camps, alter their fights, their ground,  
 Daunt mightie fpirits, prowefse and manhood marre :  
 For, bafeft cowardes from a far fhall wound  
 The moft couragious, forc't to fight afarre ;  
 Valour, wrapt vp in fmoake (as in the night)  
 Shall perifh without witneffe, without fight.

## 41

But firft, before this generall difeafe  
 Breake foorth into fo great extreamitie,  
 Prepare it by degrees ; firft kill this eafe,  
 Spoyle this proportion, marre this harmonie :  
 Make greater States vpon the leffer feaze :  
 Ioyne many kingdomes to one foueraigntie :  
 Rayfe a few Great, that may (with greater power)  
 Slaughter each other, and mankinde deuour.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th many States of Chriftendome reduced to a few.



## 42

And first begin, with factions, to diuide  
 The fairest Land ; that from her thrusts the rest,  
 As if she car'd not for the world beside ;  
 A world within her selfe, with wonders blest :  
 Raife such a strife as time shall not decide,  
 Till the deare blood of most of all her best  
 Be poured foorth, and all her people tost  
 With vnkinde tumults, and almost all lost.

## 43

Let her be made the fable Stage, whereon  
 Shall first be acted bloodie Tragedies ;  
 That all the neighbour States, gazing thereon,  
 May make their profite, by her miseries :  
 And those, whom she before had marcht vpon,  
 (Hauing, by this, both time and meane to rise)  
 Made martiall by her Armes, shall growe so great,  
 As (saue their owne) no force shall them defeat :

## 44

That when their power, vnable to sustaine  
 And beare it selfe, vpon it selfe shall fall,  
 She may (recouered of her wounds againe)  
 Sit and behold their Parts as tragicall :  
 For there must come a time, that shall obtaine  
 Truce for distresse ; when make-peace *Hymen* shall  
 Bring the conioyned aduerse powers to bed,  
 And set the Crowne (made one) vpon one head.

45

Out of which blessed vnion, shall arise  
 A sacred branch (with grace and glory blest)  
 Whose Virtue shall her Land so patronize,  
 As all our power shall not her dayes molest :  
 For, shee (faire shee) the Minion of the skies,  
 Shall purchase (of the high't) to hers such rest  
 (Standing betweene the wrath of heauen and them)  
 As no distresse shall touch her Diadem :

46

And, from the Rockes of Safetie, shall descrie  
 The wondrous wracks, that Wrath layes ruined ;  
 All round about her, blood and miserie,  
 Powres betray'd, Princes slaine, Kings massacred,  
 States all-confus'd, brought to calamitie,  
 And all the face of Kingdomes altered :  
 Yet, she the same inuiolable stands,  
 Deare to her owne, wonder to other Lands.

47

But, let not her defence discourage thee.  
 For, neuer one, but shee, shall haue this grace,  
 From all disturbs to be so long kept free,  
 And with such glorie to discharge that place.

After st. 45 (= 48) comes this stanza in <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> :—

49.

Though thou shalt seeke by al the means thou may,  
 And Arme impiety and hell and all,  
 Styrrer vp her owne, make others to assay,  
 Bring sayth disguised, the power of Pluto call,  
 Call all thy crafts to practise her decay,  
 And yet shall this take no effect at all :  
 For shee secure (as intimate with Fate)  
 Shall fit and scorne those base designs of hate.

St. 47, l. 2, 'none'.

And therefore, if by such a Power thou bee  
 Stopt of thy course, reckon it no disgrace ;  
 Sith thee alone (being priuiledg'd from hie)  
 Hath this large Patent of her dignitie.

48

This charge the Goddesse gaue : when, ready straight  
 The subtile messenger, accompayned  
 With all her crew of Artes that on her wait,  
 Haftes to effect what she was counsailed :  
 And out she pours, of her immense conceit,  
 Vpon such searhing spirits as trauallyd  
 In penetrating hidden secrecies ;  
 Who soone these meanes of miserie deuise.

49

And boldly breaking with rebellious minde  
 Into their mothers close-lockt Treasurie,  
 They Mineralls combustible do finde,  
 Which in stopt concaues placed cunningly,  
 They fire : and fire, imprisoned against kinde,  
 Teares out a way, thrusts out hisemie ;  
 Barking with such a horror, as if wroth  
 With man, that wrongs himselfe, and Nature both.

50

And this beginning had this cursed frame,  
 Which *Yorke* now planted hath against his King<sup>1</sup> ;  
 Prefuming, by his powre, and by the fame,  
 His purpose vnto good effect to bring ;

<sup>1</sup> The D. of Yorke being not admitted into the Cite, passed ouer Kingst  
 Bridge, and so into Kent, and on Brent heath neere Dartf. pigh this fieelde.  
 The K. makes after, and imbattled vpon Blacke heath : from whence he  
 sendes the BB. of Winchester and Ely with the EE. of Salisbury &  
 Warwike to mediat a peace.

St. 47, l. 8, 'eternitie' <sup>1</sup>. St. 48 = 52, l. 5, <sup>1</sup> misprints 'mimens'

When diuers of the graueſt Councell came,  
Sent from the King, to vnderſtand what thing  
Had thruſt him into theſe proceedings bad,  
And what he ſought, and what intent he had.

## 51

Who, with words mildly-ſharpe, gently-feuere,  
Wrought on thoſe wounds that muſt be toucht with heed;  
Applying rather ſalues of hope, then feare,  
Leaſt corraſiues ſhould deſparat miſchiefes breed.  
And, what my Lord (ſayd they) ſhould moue you here,  
In this vnſeemely manner to proceed?  
Whoſe worth being ſuch, as all the Land admires,  
Hath fairer wayes then theſe, to your defires.

## 52

Wil you, whoſe means, whoſe many friends, whoſe  
grace,  
Can worke the world in peace vnto your will,  
Take ſuch a courſe, as ſhal your Blood deſace,  
And make (by handling bad) a good Cauſe, ill?  
How many hearts hazard you in this caſe,  
That in all quiet plots would ayde you ſtill?  
Hauing in Court a Partie farre more ſtrong  
Then you conceiue, preſt to redreſſe your wrong.

## 53

Phy, phy! forſake this hatefull courſe, my Lord:  
Downe with theſe Armes, that will but wound your  
Cauſe.  
What Peace may do, hazard not with the Sword:  
Lay downe the force that from your force with-drawes;

St. 53, l. 1, 'Fy, fy' <sup>1</sup>; 'Fie, fie' <sup>2</sup>; l. 4, 'Fly from' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

And yeeld : and we will mediate fuch accord  
 As fhall difpenfe with rigor and the lawes ;  
 And interpoſe this ſolemne fayth of our  
 Betwixt your fault, and the offended Power.

## 54

Which ingins of protests, and proffers kinde,  
 Vrg'd out of ſeeming grieſe and ſhewes of loue,  
 So ſhooke the whole foundation of his Minde,  
 As they did all his reſolution moue,  
 And preſent ſeem'd vnto their courſe inclin'd ;  
 So that the King would *Sommerſet* remoue ;  
 The man, whoſe moſt intolerable pride  
 Trode down his worth, and all good mens beſide.<sup>1</sup>

## 55

Which, they there vow'd, ſhould preſently be done :  
 For, what will not peace-louers willing graunt,  
 Where dangerous euents depend thereon,  
 And men vn furniſht, and the State in want ?  
 And if with words the conqueſt will be won,  
 The coſt is ſmall : and who holds breath ſo ſcant  
 As then to ſpare, though with indignitie ?  
 " Better deſcend, then end, in Maieſtie.

## 56

And here-upon the Duke diſſolues his force,  
 Submits him to the King, on publique vow :  
 The rather too, preſuming on this courſe,  
 For-that his ſonne, the Earle of *March*, was now

<sup>1</sup> And finding the Kentiſh men not to anſwere his expectation, and the kings forces farre more then his, he willingly conſcends to conditions of peace. Edmond D. of Sommerſet of the houſe of Lancaſter, deſcended from Iohn of Gante, was the eſpeciall man againſt whom he pretended his quarrell.

With mightier powers abroad : which would inforce  
His peace ; which else the King would not allow.  
For, seeing not all of him, in him, he hath,  
His death would but giue life to greater wrath.

## 57

Yet, comming to the King, in former place  
(His foe) the Duke of *Sommerſet* he findes :  
Whom openly, reproching to his face,  
Hee charg'd with treafon in the higheſt kindes.  
The Duke returnes like ſpeeches of diſgrace ;  
And fierie wordes bewray'd their flaming mindes :  
But yet the triall was for them defer'd,  
Till fitter time allow'd it to be heard.

## 58

At Weſtminſter, a Counſell, ſommoned,  
Deliberates what courſe the Cauſe ſhould end  
Of th'apprehended Duke of *Yorke* ; whoſe head  
Doth now on others doubtfull breath depend.  
Law fiercely vrg'd his act, and found him dead :  
Friends ſayl'd to ſpeake, where they could not defend :  
Onely the King himſelfe for mercy ſtood ;  
As, prodigall of life, niggard of blood.

## 59

And, as if angrie with the Lawes of death,  
" Ah ! why ſhould you, ſayd he, vrge things ſo far ?  
" You, that inur'd with mercenarie breath,  
" And hyred tongue, ſo peremptorie are ;  
" Brauing on him whom ſorrow proſtrateth :  
" As if you did with poore Affliction warre,

St. 58, l. 1, 'gathered' ; l. 4, 'deed' ; St. 59 l. 2, 'And' (bad) ;

" And prey on Frayltie, Folly hath betray'd ;  
 " Bringing the lawes to wound, neuer to ayd.

60

" Dispenſe ſometime with ſterne ſeueritie ;  
 " Make not the Lawes ſtill traps to apprehend ;  
 " Win grace vpon the bad with clemencie ;  
 " Mercie may mend, whom malice made offend.  
 " Death giues no thanks, but checkes Authoritie :  
 " And life doth onely Maieſtie commend.  
 " Reuenge dies not, Rigor begets new wrath :  
 " And blood hath neuer glorie ; Mercy hath.

61

" And for my part (and my part ſhould be chiefe)  
 " I am moſt willing to reſtore his ſtate :  
 " And rather had I win him with reliefe,  
 " Then loſe him with deſpight, and get more hate.  
 " Pittie drawes loue : blood-ſhed is natures grieve ;  
 " Compaſſion followes the vnfortunate :  
 " And, loſing him, in him I loſe my power.  
 " We rule who liue : the dead are none of our.

62

" And ſhould our rigor leſſen then the ſame,  
 " Which we with greater glorie ſhould retaine ?  
 " No ; let him liue : his life muſt giue vs fame ;  
 " The childe of mercie newly borne againe.  
 " As often burials are Phyſicians ſhame ;  
 " So, many deaths argue a Kings hard Raigne.  
 " Why ſhould we ſay, The Law muſt haue her vigor ?  
 The Law kills him ; but quits not vs of rigor.

## 63

" You, to get more preferment by your wit,  
" Others to gaine the spoyles of miserie,  
" Labour with all your powre to follow it ;  
" Shewing vs feares, to draw-on crueltie.  
" You vrge th'offence, not tell vs what is fit :  
" Abusing wrong-informed Maiestie :  
" As if our powre, were onely but to slay,  
" And that to faue, were a most dangerous way.

## 64

Thus, out of Pittie, spake that holy King :  
Whom milde affections led to hope the best ;  
When *Sommerfet* began to vrge the thing  
With words of hotter temper, thus exprest ;  
" Deare soueraigne Lord, the Cause in managing  
" Is more then yours ; t'imports the publique rest :  
" We all haue part, it toucheth all our good :  
" And life's ill spar'd, that's spar'd to cost more blood.

## 65

" Compassion, here, is crueltie my Lord ;  
" Pittie will cut our throates, for sauing so.  
" What benefite enioy we by the sword,  
" If mischief shall escape to draw-on mo ?  
" Why should we giue, what Law cannot afford,  
" To be'accessaries to our proper wo ?  
" Wisedome must iudge, 'twixt men apt to amend,  
" And mindes incurable, borne to offend.



## 66

" It is no priuat Cause (I do protest)  
 " That moues me thus to profecute his deede.  
 " Would God his blood, and mine, had well releast  
 " The dangers, that his pride is like to breed.  
 " Although, at me, hee seemes to haue addrest  
 " His spight ; 'tis not the end hee hath decreed,  
 " I am not he alone, hee doth purfue :  
 " But thorow me, he meanes to shoot at you.

## 67

" For, thus, these great Reformers of a State  
 " (Aspiring to attaine the Gouernment)  
 " Still take aduantage of the peoples hate,  
 " Who euer hate such as are eminent.  
 " (For, who can great affaires negotiat,  
 " And all a wayward multitude content ?)  
 " And then these people-minions, they must fall  
 " To worke-out vs, to work themselues int'all.

## 68

" But note, my Lord, first, who is in your hand ;  
 " Then, how he hath offended, what's his end :  
 " It is the man, whose Race would seeme to stand  
 " Before your Right, and doth a Right pretend :  
 " Who (Traitor-like) hath raif'd a mightie Band,  
 " With colour, your proceedings to amend.  
 " Which if it should haue hapned to succeed,  
 " You had not now fate to adiudge his deed.

St. 67, l. 1, 'For this course euer they deliberate' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 2, 'Which do  
 aspyre to reach' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 3, 'To' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 4, 'those' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 5, 'manage  
 . . . of state' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

## 69

" If oftentimes the person, not th'offence,  
 " Haue beene sufficient cause of death to some,  
 " Where publique safety puts in euidence  
 " Of mischief, likely by their life to come ;  
 " Shall hee, whose fortune, and his insolence,  
 " Haue both deserv'd to die, escape that doome ;  
 " When you shall saue your Land, your Crowne thereby ;  
 " And since You cannot liue, vnlesse He die ?

## 70

Thus spake th'aggrieved Duke, that grauely saw  
 Th'incompatible powers of Princes mindes ;  
 And what affliction his escape might draw  
 Vnto the State, and people of all kindes :  
 And yet the humble yeelding, and the aw,  
 Which *Yorke* there shew'd, so good opinion findes,  
 That (with the rumor of his Sonnes great strength,  
 And French affaires) he there came quit at length.<sup>1</sup>

## 71

For, euen the feare t'exasperat the heat  
 Of th'Earle of *March*, whose forward youth and might  
 Well follow'd, seem'd a proud reuenge to threat,  
 If any shame should on his Father light :  
 And then desire in *Gascoyne* to reget  
 The glorie lost, which home-broyles hinder might,  
 Aduantaged the Duke, and sav'd his head ;  
 Which, questionlesse, had else beene hazarded.

<sup>1</sup> The D. was suffred to go to his Castle at Wigmore.

## 72

For, now had *Burdeux* offered (vpon ayd)  
 Present reuolt, if we would send with speed.<sup>1</sup>  
 Which faire aduantage to haue then delay'd,  
 Vpon such hopes, had beene a shamefull deed.  
 And therefore this, all other courtes stayd,  
 And outwardly these inward hates agreed ;  
 Giuing an interpaufe to pride and spight :  
 Which breath'd, but to breake-out with greater might.

## 73

Whil'ft dreadfull *Talbot*, terror late of *Fraunce*,  
 (Against the *Genius* of our Fortune) stroue,  
 The downe-throwne glorie of our State t'aduance ;  
 Where *Fraunce* far more then *Fraunce* he now doth proue:  
 For, friends, opinion, and succeeding chaunce  
 (Which wrought the weake to yeeld; the strong to loue)  
 Were not the same, that he had found before  
 In happier times ; when lesse would haue done more.

## 74

For, both the *Britaine*, and *Burgonian* now,<sup>2</sup>  
 Came altred with our lucke, and won with theirs  
 (Those bridges, and the gates, that did allow  
 So easie passage vnto our affaires)  
 Iudging it safer to endeouour how  
 To link with strength, then leane vnto despaire.

<sup>1</sup> The Cittie of Burdeaux send their Ambassadors offering to reuolt from the French part if ayd might be sent vnto them: whereupon, Iohn L. Talbot E. of Shrewsburie was employed with a powre of 3000 men, and surpris'd the Cittie of Burdeaux.

<sup>2</sup> The Dukes of Britany and Burgundy were great meanes in times past for the conquering of France.

St. 73, l. 7, 'as'.

“ And, who wants friends, to backe what he begins,  
 “ In Lands far off, gets not, although he wins.

## 75

Which too well prov'd this fatall enterprize,  
 The last, that lost vs all wee had to lose.  
 Where, though aduantag'd by some mutinies,  
 And pettie Lords, that in our Cause arose :  
 Yet those great fayl'd ; whose ready quick supplies,  
 Euer at hand, cheer'd vs, and quail'd our foes.  
 Succours from far, come feldome to our minde.  
 “ For, who holds league with *Neptune*, and the winde ?

## 76

Yet, worthy *Talbot*,<sup>1</sup> thou didst so employ  
 The broken remnants of disscattered power,  
 That they might see it was our destiny,  
 Not want of spirit, that lost vs what was our :  
 Thy dying hand sold them the victorie  
 With so deare wounds, as made the conquest fowre :  
 So much it cost to spoyle who were vndon ;  
 And such adoe to win, when they had won.

## 77

For, as a fierce courageous Mastiue fares ;  
 That, hauing once sure fast'ned on his foe,  
 Lyes tugging on that hold, neuer forbears,  
 What force foeuer force him to forgo :  
 The more he feeles his woundes, the more he dares ;  
 As if his death were sweet, in dying so :

<sup>1</sup> The E. of Shrewsburie accompayned with his sonne Sir Iohn Talbot, L. Lisle by the right of his wife, with the LL. Molins, Harrington, and Cameis, Sir Iohn Howard, Sir Iohn Vernon & others, recovered diuers townes in Gascony : amongst other, the towne, and Castle of Chastillon in Perigent which the French soone after besieged.

So held his hold this Lord, whil'ft he held breath ;  
And scarce, but with much blood, lets goe in death.

## 78

For, though he saw prepar'd, against his fide,  
Both vnlike fortune, and vnequall force,  
Borne with the swelling current of their pride  
Downe the maine streame of a most happy course :  
Yet standes he stiffe, vndaft, vnterrif'd ;  
His minde the same, although his fortune worfe :  
Virtue in greatest dangers being best showne ;  
And though opprest, yet neuer ouer-throwne.

## 79

For, rescuing of besieg'd *Chatillion*  
(Where hauing first constrained the French to fly,  
And following hard on their confusion)  
Comes (lo) incountred with a strong supply  
Of fresh-arriuing powers, that backe thrust-on  
Those flying troupes, another chaunce to trie :  
Who, double arm'd, with shame, and fury, straine  
To wreake their foyle, and win their fame againe.

## 80

Which seeing, th'vndaunted *Talbot* (with more might  
Of spirit to will, then hands of power to do)  
Preparing t'entertaine a glorious fight,  
Cheeres-vp his wearied Souldiers thereunto.  
" Courage, sayth hee : those brauing troupes, in fight,  
" Are but the same, that now you did vndo.  
" And what if there be come some more then they ?  
" They come to bring more glory to the day

## 81

“ Which day must either thrust vs out of all ;  
“ Or all, with greater glorie, backe restore.  
“ This day, your valiant worth aduenture shall,  
“ For what our Land shall neuer fight for, more.  
“ If now we faile, with vs is like to fall  
“ All that renowne which we haue got before.  
“ This is the last : if we discharge the same,  
“ The same shall last to our eternall fame.

## 82

“ Neuer had worthy men, for any fact,  
“ A more faire glorious Theater, then we ;  
“ Whereon true Magnanimitie might act  
“ Braue deedes, which better witnessed could be.  
“ For, lo, from yonder Turrets, yet vnfactt,  
“ Your valliant fellowes stand, your worth to see,  
“ T’auouch your valour, if you liue to gaine ;  
“ And if we die, that we di’d not in vaine.

## 83

“ And euen our foes (whose proud and powreful might  
“ Would seeme to swallow vp our dignitie)  
“ Shall not keep-backe the glory of our right ;  
“ Which their confounded blood shall testifie :  
“ For, in their wounds, our goarie swords shall write  
“ The monumentes of our eternitie :  
“ For, vile is honor, and a title vaine,  
“ The which, true worth and danger do not gaine.

## 84

' For, they shall see, when we (in carelesse fort)  
 ' Shall throwe our selues on their despised speares,  
 " Tis not despaire, that doth vs so transport :  
 " But euen true Fortitude, that nothing feares ;  
 " Sith we may well retire vs, in some fort :  
 " But, shame on him that such a foul thought beares.  
 " For, be they more, let Fortune take their part,  
 " Wee'll tugge her too, and scratch her, ere we part.

## 85

This sayd ; a fresh insul'd desire of fame  
 Enters their warmed blood, with such a will,  
 That they deem'd long, they were not at the game ;  
 And, though they marcht apace, thought they stood still,  
 And that their lingring foes too slowly came  
 To ioyne with them, spending much time but ill :  
 Such force had wordes, fierce humors vp to call,  
 Sent from the mouth of such a Generall.

## 86

Who yet, his forces weighing (with their fire)  
 Turnes him about, in priuate, to his Sonne  
 (A worthy Sonne, and worthy such a Sire)  
 And telleth him, what ground hee stood vpon,  
 Aduising him in secret to retire <sup>1</sup> ;  
 Confidering how his youth, but now begun,  
 Would make it vnto him, at all, no staine :  
 His death small fame, his flight no shame could gaine.

<sup>1</sup> The Lord Lisle was aduised by his father to retire him out of the battaile.

St. 85, l. 6, 'So'.

St. 86, l. 1, 'weighing yet his force and their desire' <sup>1, 2, 3</sup> : l. 4, 'Tells him the doubtful ground they' <sup>1, 2, 3</sup> : l. 6, 'Seeing his youth but euen' <sup>1, 2, 3</sup>.

## 87

To whom, th'aggrieved Sonne (as if disgrac't)  
 " Ah Father, haue you then selected me  
 ' To be the man, whom you would haue displac't  
 " Out of the roule of Immortalitie ?  
 " What haue I done this day, that hath defac't  
 " My worth, that my hands worke despi'd should be ?  
 " God shiold, I should beare home a Cowards name,  
 " He long enough hath liv'd, who dyes with fame.

## 88

At which, the Father, toucht with forrowing-ioy,  
 Turn'd him about (shaking his head) and sayes ;  
 " O my deare Sonne, worthy a better day,  
 " To enter thy first youth, in hard affayes.  
 And now had Wrath, impatient of delay,  
 Begun the fight, and farther speeches stayes :  
 Furie thrustes on ; striuing, whose sword should be  
 First warmed, in the wounds of th'enemie.

## 89

Hotly, these small but mightie-minded, Bands  
 (As if ambitious now of death) doe straine  
 Against innumerable armed hands,  
 And gloriously a wondrous fight maintaine ;  
 Rushing on all what-euer strength withstands,  
 Whetting their wrath on blood, and on disdaine :  
 And so far thrust, that hard 'twere to descry  
 Whether they more desire to kill, or dye.

St. 87, L. 8, ' I haue liu'd enough if I can die with '1, 2, 3.



## 90

Frank of their owne, greedy of others blood,  
 No stroke they giue, but wounds, no wound, but kills :  
 Neere to their hate, close to their work they stood,  
 Hit where they would, their hand obeyes their wills ;  
 Scorning the blowe from far, that doth no good,  
 Loathing the cracke, vnlesse some blood it spils :  
 No wounds could let-out life that wrath held in,  
 Till others wounds, reueng'd, did first begin.

## 91

So much, true resolution wrought in those  
 Who had made couenant with death before,  
 That their smal number (scorning so great foes)  
 Made *Fraunce* most happie, that there were no more ;  
 And Fortune doubt to whom she might dispose  
 That weary day ; or vnto whom restore  
 The glory of a Conquest dearely bought ;  
 Which scarce the Conqueror could thinke well got.

## 92

For, as with equall rage, and equall might,  
 Two aduerse windes combat, with billowes proud,  
 And neither yeeld ; Seas, skies maintaine like fight,  
 Waue against waue oppos'd, and clowd to clowd :  
 So warre both fides, with obstinate despight,  
 With like reuenge, and neither partie bow'd ;  
 Fronting each other with confounding blowes,  
 No wound, one sword, vnto the other owes :

St. 91, l. 5, 'Sith these made doubtful how Fate would' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>; in <sup>2</sup> 'So working, that Fate knew not how dispose': l. 8, 'ought' <sup>1</sup>: <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> as text.

## 93

Whil'ft *Talbot* (whose fresh ardor hauing got  
 A meruailous aduantage of his yeares)  
 Carries his vnfelt age, as if forgot,  
 Whirling about, where any need appeares :  
 His hand, his eye, his wits all present, wrought  
 The function of the glorious Part he beares :  
 Now vrging here, now cheering there, he flies,  
 Vnlockes the thickest troupes, where most force lyes.

## 94

In midst of wrath, of wounds, of blood, and death,  
 There is he most, where as he may do best :  
 And there the closest ranks hee seuereth,  
 Driues-back the stoutest powres, that forward prest :  
 There makes his sword his way : there laboreth  
 Th'infatigable hand that neuer ceast ;  
 Scorning, vnto his mortall wounds to yeeld ;  
 Till Death became best maister of the Field.<sup>1</sup>

## 95

Then like a sturdy Oke, that hauing long,  
 Against the warres of fiercest windes, made head  
 When (with some forc't tempestuous rage, more strong)  
 His down-borne top comes ouer-maistered,  
 All the neere bordering Trees (hee stood among)  
 Crusht with his waightie fall, lie ruined :  
 So lay his spoiles, all round about him flaine,  
 T'adorne his death, that could not die in vaine.

<sup>1</sup> The death of Iohn L. Talbot E. of Shrewesburie ; who had serued in the warres of Fraunce most valiantly for the space of 50. yeeres.

St. 94, l. 6, 'rest'.

## 96

On th'other part, his most all-daring sonne  
 (Although the inexperience of his yeares  
 Made him lesse skil'd in what was to be done ;  
 And yet did carrie him beyond all feares)  
 Into the maine Battalion, thrusting on  
 Neere to the King, amidst the chiefeſt Peeres,  
 With thousand wounds, became at length oppreſt ;  
 As if he ſcorn'd to die, but with the beſt.<sup>1</sup>

## 97

Who thus both, hauing gaind a glorious end,  
 Soone ended that great day ; that ſet ſo red,  
 As all the purple Plaines, that wide extend,  
 A ſad tempeſtuous ſeaſon witneſſed.  
 So much adoe had toyling *Fraunce* to rend,  
 From vs, the right ſo long inherited :  
 And ſo hard went we from what we poſſeſt ;  
 As with it went the blood wee loued beſt.<sup>2</sup>

## 98

Which blood, not loſt, but faſt lay'd vp with heed  
 In euerlaſting fame, is there held deere,  
 To ſeale the memorie of this dayes deed ;  
 Th'eternall euidence of what we were :  
 To which, our Fathers, wee, and who ſucceed,  
 Doe owe a ſigh, for that it toucht vs neere :  
 Nor muſt we finne ſo much, as to neglect  
 The holy thought of ſuch a deare reſpect.

St. 96, l. 5, ' Flying into the maine Batalion ' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 98, l. 7, ' Who muſt not ' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The death of the L. Liſle, Sonne to this worthy E. of Shrewesburie.

<sup>2</sup> 1453. An. reg. 32. Thus was the Duchie of Aquitaine loſt ; which

## 99

Yet happy-haplefs day, bleft ill-loft breath,  
 Both for our better fortune, and your owne !  
 For, what foul wounds, what fpoyl, what shamefull death,  
 Had by this forward refolution growne,  
 If at *S. Albons, Wakefield, Barnet-heath*,  
 It fhould vnto your infamie beene showne ?  
 Bleft you, that did not teach how great a fault  
 Euen Virtue is, in actions that are naught.

## 100

Yet, would this fad dayes losfe had now beene all,  
 That this daye loft : then fhould we not much plaine,  
 If hereby we had com'n but there to fall ;  
 And that day, ended, ended had our paine :  
 Then fmall the losfe of *Fraunce*, of *Guien* fmall ;  
 Nothing the shame to be turn'd home againe  
 Compar'd with other fhamcs. But now, *Fraunce*, loft,  
 Sheds vs more blood, then all her winning coft.

## 101

For lofing warre abroad, at home loft peace ;  
 Be'ing with our vnſupporting felues clofe pent ;  
 And no deffignes for pride (that did increafe)  
 But our owne throats, and our owne puniſhment ;  
 The working ſpirit ceaſt not, though work did ceaſe,  
 Hauing fit time to praëtife difcontent,

had remained in the poſſeſſion of the Crown of England, by the ſpace  
 almoſt of 300 yeares. The right whereof came by the mariage of K. Hen. 2.  
 with Elenor, daughter to Williã D. of Aquitaine. In this Duchie, are  
 4. Archbiſhops, 24. Biſhops, 50. Earledomes, 202. Baronies, and aboue a  
 1000. Captainſhippes, and Bayliwikes.

St. 100, l. 3, 'come'.

And stirre vp such as could not long lie still :  
 " Who, not imploy'd to good, must needs do ill.

## 102

And now this grieve of our receiued shame,  
 Gaue fit occasion, for ambitious care,  
 To draw the chiefe reproche of all the fame  
 On such as obuious vnto hatred are,  
 Th'especiall men of State : who, all the blame  
 Of whatfoeuer Fortune doth, must beare.  
 For, still, in vulgar eares delight it breeds,  
 To haue the hated, authors of misdeeds.

## 103

And therefore, easily, great *Sommerfet*  
 (Whom Enuie long had singled out before)  
 With all the vollie of disgraces met,  
 As th'onely marke that Fortune plac't therfore :  
 On whose ill-wrought opinion, Spight did whet  
 The edge of Wrath, to make it pearce the more .  
 And Grief was glad t'haue gotten now on whom  
 To lay the fault of what must light on some.

## 104

Whereon, th'againc out-breaking *Yorke* beginnes  
 To build new modules of his old desire.  
 And se'ing the booty Fortune for him winnes,  
 Vpon the ground of this inkindled ire,

St. 102, l. 3, 'They' : l. 4, ' . . . naturally hated' : l. 5, 'Seeing them apt to beare the greatest blame' : l. 6, 'That offices of greatest enuie beare' : l. 7, 'And that'.

St. 103, l. 4, 'the maine marke Fortune had' : l. 5, 'hard' : l. 7, 'Griefe being'.

He takes th'aduantages of others finnes  
 To ayde his owne, and help him to aspire :<sup>1</sup>  
 For, doubting, peace should better scanne deeds past,  
 He thinkes not safe, to haue his sword out, laft :

## 105

Especially, since euery man (now preft  
 To innouation) doe with rancor swell :  
 A stirring humor gen'rally posselt  
 Those peace-spilt times, weary of beeing well :  
 The weake with wrongs, the happy tyr'd with rest,  
 And many mad, for what, they could not tell :  
 The World, euen great with Change, thought it vvent  
 To stay beyond the bearing-time, so long. [wrong]

## 106

And therefore now these Lords confedered  
 (Beeing much increast in number and in spight)  
 So shap't their course, that gathering to a head,  
 They grew to be of formidable might :  
 The'abused world, so hastily is led  
 (Some for reuenge, some for wealth, some for delight)

<sup>1</sup> Yorke procures the hatred of the people, against the Duke of Sommer-set : and so wrought (in a time of the Kings sicknes) that hee caused him to be arrested in the Qu. great Châber, and sent to the Towre of Lōdon ; accusing him to haue been the occasiō of the losse of France : but the K. being recouered, he was againe set at liberty, Ann. reg. 32. The D. of Yorke, perceiuing his accusations not to preuaile against the D. of Som. resolues to obtaine his purpose by open war : and so being in Wales, accompanied with his special friēds, assēbled an Armie, & marched towards Londō.

St. 104, l. 5, 'Taking' <sup>1</sup> : l. 7, 'And' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 105, l. 1, 'fith' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 106, l. 4, 'Began to grow . . . feareful' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> : l. 5, 'hastie gathered' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

That *Yorke*, from small beginning troupes, soone drawes  
A world of men, to venture in his Cause.

107

Like as proud *Seuerne*, from a priuat head,  
With humble streames at first, doth gently glide,  
Till other Riuers haue contributed  
The springing riches of their store beside ;  
Where-with at length high-swelling, she doth spread,  
Her broad-distended waters, lay'd so wide,  
That comming to the Sea, shee seemes, from farre,  
Not to haue tribute brought, but rather warre :

108

Euen so is *Yorke* now growne, and now is bent  
T'incounter with the best, and for the best.  
Whose neere approach the King hastes to preuent,  
With hope, farre off to haue his power supprest<sup>1</sup> ;  
Fearing the Cittie, leaft some insolent,  
And mutinous, should harden on the rest  
To take his part. But hee so forward set  
That at *S. Albones* both the Armies met.

109

Where-to,<sup>a</sup> their haste farre fewer hands did bring,  
Then else their better leysure would haue done :  
And yet too many for so foul a thing ;  
Sith who did best, hath but dishonour won :

<sup>1</sup> K. Hen. sets forward frō Londō with 20000 mē of war, to encounter with the D. of Yorke ; attended with Humf. D. of Buckingh. and Humfry his son, E. Stafford, Edm. D. of Sōmerf. Hen. Percy, E. of North. Ia. Butler. E. of Wiltsh. & Ormond, Iasper, E. of Pembroke, the sonne of Owen Tewder, halfe brother to the K. Tho. Courtney, E. of Deuonsh. Ioh. L. Clifford, the LL. Sudley, Barnes, Rofs, & others.

St. 107, l. 6, 'disfenced' <sup>1</sup> : <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> as text. St. 108, l. 7, 'h'is' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 109, l. 1, 'Whether' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

For, whil't some offer peace, sent from the King,  
*Warwicks* too forward hand hath Warre begon ;  
 A warre, that doth the face of Warre deforme :  
 Which still is foul ; but foulest, wanting forme.

## 110

And, neuer valiant Leaders (so well knowne  
 For braue performed actions done before)  
 Did blemish their discretion and renowne  
 In any weake effected seruice more ;  
 Bringing such powres into so straight a Towne,  
 As to some Citty-tumult or vp-rore :  
 Which, slaughter, and no battaile, might be thought ;  
 Sith that side vs'd their swords, and this their throat.<sup>1</sup>

## 111

But this, on th'error of the King, is lai'd,  
 And vpon *Sommerjets* desire t'obtaine

<sup>1</sup> The D. of York, with the LL. pitched their battaile without the towne, in a place called Keyfield : and the K. power (to their great disadvantage) tooke vp the towne : where being assailed, & wanting roome to vse their power, were miserably ouerthrowne & slaughtered. On the K. side were slain Edm. D. of Sommerf. who left behind him 3 sons, Henry, Edm. & Ioh. Heere was also slaine, the E. of Northumberland, the E. Stafford, the L. Clifford, Sir Rob. Vere, with diuers others to the nuber of 5000 : & on the LL. part, but 600. And this was the first battell at S. Albones, the 23 of May, Ann. reg. 33. The D. of Yorke, with other LL. came to the K. where hee was, and craued grace & forgiuenesse on their knees, of that that they had done in his presence, intending nothing but for the good of him and his kingdome : with whō they remooued to London ; concluding there to hold a Parliament the 9 of Iuly following.

St. 110, l. 1, 'Neuer did' <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> : l. 3, 'Blemish the reputation of renowne' <sup>1</sup>.

St. 111, l. 1, 'Warwicks wrath must needs be' <sup>1</sup> :



The day with peace : for which they longer staid  
 Then wisedome would, aduent'ring for the Maine :  
 Whose force, in narrow streets once ouer-laid,  
 Neuer recouerd head : but euen there flaine  
 The Duke and all the greatest Leaders are ;  
 The King himselfe beeing taken prifoner.

## 112

Yet not a prifoner to the outward eye,  
 For-that he must seeme grac't with his loft day ;  
 All things beeing done for his commoditie,  
 Against such men as did the State betray :  
 For, with such apt deceiuing clemencie  
 And seeming-order, *Yorke* did so allay  
 That touch of wrong, as made him make great stealth  
 In weaker minds, with shew of Common-wealth.

## 113

Long-lookt-for powre thus got into his hand,  
 The former face of Court doth new appeare :  
 And all th'especiall Charges of Commaund,  
 To his partakers distributed were<sup>1</sup> :  
 Himselfe is made Protector of the Land.  
 A title found, which couertly did beare  
 All-working powre vnder another stile ;  
 And yet the soueraigne Part doth act the while.

<sup>1</sup> Ric. E. of Salisbury, made L. Chancellor, & the E. of Warwicke, Gouvernour of Calice.

St. 111, l. 4, ' . . . or then was for his gayne ' : l. 6, ' there came ' : l. 7, ' Both he, and all the Leaders els besides ' : l. 8, ' alone a prifoner 'bides '.

St. 112, l. 1, ' A prifoner, though not ' ,<sup>2</sup>,<sup>3</sup>.

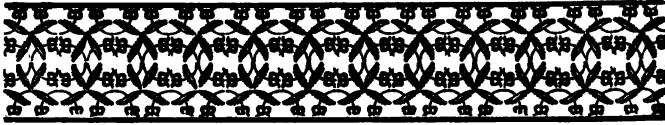
St. 113, l. 2, ' now altered ' : l. 3, ' all the supreamest ' : l. 4, ' Were to his ayders straight contributed ' : l. 6, ' onely couered ' : l. 8, ' Which yet the greatest part '.

## 114

The King held onely but an emptie name,  
Left, with his life : whereof the prooffe was fuch,  
As sharpest pride could not transpearce the fame,  
Nor all-defiring greedinesse durst touch :  
Impietie had not inlarg'd their shame  
As yet so wide, as to attempt so much :  
Mischiefe was not full ripe, for such foul deedes ;  
Left, for th'vnbounded malice that succeedes.

St. 114, l. 4, 'once, all-seeking' Fortune durst to '1'; 2, 2 as text: l. 7, 'deede' 1; 2, 2 as text: l. 8, 'horrors that succeed' 1; 2, 2 as text.

*The end of the Sixt Booke.*

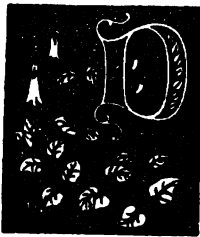


# THE SEVENTH BOOKE.<sup>1</sup>

## THE ARGVMENT.

*The King's repris'd: Yorke, and his side retires ;  
And making head againe, is put to flight :  
Returnes into the Land, his right requires :  
Having regain'd the King, confirms his right :  
And, whil' st his rash improuidence aspires,  
Is slaine at Wakefield, by Q. Mar'grets might :  
Who. at S. Albones, backe her Lord regaines ;  
Is forc't frō thence : & March the Crowne attaines.*

### I



Ifordinate Authoritie, thus gaind,  
Knew not at first, or durst not to  
proceed  
With an out-breaking course ; but  
stood restraind  
Within the compasse of respectiue  
heed :

<sup>1</sup> The 'Seuenth Booke' as 'Booke Sixt' appeared first in 1601-2.  
St. 1, l. 1, 'Vnatural' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

Distrust of friends, and powre of foes, detain'd  
That mounting will, from making too much speed :  
For, though he held the powre he long'd to win,  
Yet had not all the keyes to let him in.<sup>1</sup>

## 2

The Queene abroad, with a reuenging hand  
(Arm'd with her owne disgrace, and others spight,  
Gath'ring th'oppressed partie of the Land)  
Held ouer him the threatning sword of might ;  
That forc't him, in the tearmes of awe, to stand  
(Who else had burst-vp Right, to come t'his right)  
And kept him so confus'd, that he knew not  
To make vse of the meanes, which he had got.

## 3

For, either by his fearing to restraine  
The person of the King ; or by neglect  
Of guarding him with a sufficient traine,  
The watchfull Queene, with cunning, doth effect  
A practice that recouers him againe  
(As one that with best care could him protect :)  
And h'is conuaid to *Couentry*, to those  
Who well knew now of Maestie dispose.

<sup>1</sup> The D. of York, in respect that K. Hen. for his holiness of life, and clemencie, was highly esteemed of the Commons, durst not attempt any violent course against his person : but onely labors to strengthen his owne partie : which he could not do, but by the oppression and displacing of many woorthy men ; with committing other violencies, whervnto necessitie inforced him, for the preferment of his friends, which rais'd a greater partie against him, then that he made.

St. 3, l. 1, 'whether by not daring to retaine' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> : l. 3, 'whom he held weake or vaine' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> : l. 4, 'Or that the' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>

## 4

Though this weake King had blunted thus before  
 The edge of powre, with so dull clemencie,  
 And left him nothing else was gracious, more  
 Then euen the title of his Sov'raigntie ;  
 Yet is that title of so precious store,  
 As it makes, golden, leaden Maiestie :  
 And where, or how-soeuer it doth sit,  
 Is fure t'haue the world attend on it.

## 5

Whether it be, that Forme, and Eminence,  
 Adorn'd with Pomp and State, begets this awe :  
 Or, whether an in-bred obedience  
 To Right and Powre, doth our affections drawe :  
 Or, whether sacred Kings worke reuerence,  
 And make that Nature now, which was first Law,  
 We know not : but, the Head will draw the Parts ;  
 And good Kings, with our bodies, haue our harts.

## 6

For, lo, no fooner was his perfon ioyn'd  
 With this distracted body of his friends ;  
 But, straight the Duke, and all that faction find,  
 They lost the onely Engin for their ends :  
 Authoritie, with Maiestie combin'd,  
 Stands bent vpon them now, and powrefull sends  
 Them summons to appeare, who lately held  
 That powre themselues, and could not be compeld.

St. 4, l. 1, 'For though this feeble King had blunted thus' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>2</sup>: l. ends 'gracious' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>2</sup>: l. 4, 'But' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>2</sup>: l. 5 ends 'precious' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>2</sup>.

St. 5, l. 7, 'Or what it is' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>2</sup>: l. 8, 'And with . . . Kings' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>2</sup>.

St. 6, l. 7, 'summons for' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>2</sup>.

## 7

Where-with confus'd, as either not prepar'd  
 For all euent; or se'ing the times not fit;  
 Or mens affections, failing in regard;  
 Or their owne forces, not of powre as yet:  
 They all retire them home; and neither dar'd  
 T'appeare, or to stand-out to answere it:<sup>1</sup>  
 This vnfore-thought-on accident, confounds  
 All their deffignes, and frustrates all their grounds:

## 8

As vsually it fares, with those that plot  
 These machines of Ambition, and high pride;  
 Who (in their chieft counsels ouer-shot)  
 For all things faue what serue the turne, prouide;  
 Whil'ft that, which most imports, rests most forgot,  
 Or waigh'd not, or contemn'd, or vndecri'd;  
 That some-thing may be euer ouer-gone,  
 Where courtes shall be croft, and men vndone.

## 9

*Yorke* into *Wales*, *Warwicke* to *Calais* hies,  
 Some to the *North*, others to other parts;  
 As if they ran both from their dignities,  
 And also from themselues, and their owne harts:

<sup>1</sup> The Queen, with her party, hauing recovered the K. and withdrawing him far frō Lon. (where they found the D. of Yorke was too much fauored by the Cittizens) grew to bee very strong, by means that so many Ll. and much people, oppressed & discontented with these proceedings of their enemies, resorted dailie vnto thē. Whervpon, the K. ſumoned the D. & his adherents, to appeare before him at Couentry: but they, finding their present strength, not sufficient to make good their answer, retired thēselues into seuerall parts. The D. of York withdrawes him to Wigmore, in Wales: the E. of Salisb. into the North, the E. of Warw. to Calais.

"(The mind decay'd, in publique ieopardies,  
 "To th'ill at hand, onely it selfe conuerts)  
 That none would thinke, *Yorke's* hopes, being so neere dry,  
 Could euer flowe againe, and swell so hie.

## 10

And yet, for all this ebbing, Chance remaines,  
 The spring that feedes that hope (which leaues men laft).  
 Whom no'affliction so entire restraines,  
 But that it may remount, as in times past :  
 Though he had lost his place, his powre, his paines ;  
 Yet held his loue, his friends, his title fast :  
 The whole frame of that fortune could not faile ;  
 As that, which hung by more then by one naile.

## 11

Else might we thinke, what error had it bin,  
 These parts thus sev'ed, not t'haue quite destroy'd ;  
 But that they saw it not the way to win.  
 Some more dependances there were beside :

After St. 9 comes this :—

## 10.

So humble *Rodon*,<sup>1</sup> *Wainfeedes* sweete delight,  
 That waters *Mountioyes* solitarie rest,  
 Be'ing deckt with sommers heate, shrinkes out of fight  
 Downe in his narrow bed, as quite supprest,  
 That lately swolne with forrayne-ayding might,  
 Runs boundlesse ouer all, and all possessest :  
 And now so feeble growne, hath left no more  
 Then scarce sustaynes his variable store.

St. 10, l. 1, ' So now seem'd Yorke : and yet for all remaynes ' ,

St. 11, l. 2, ' destroyde ' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Rodon the Riuer by Wainfeed.

Which Age, and Fate, keeps vs from looking in,  
 That their true Counsells come not right defcri'd ;  
 Which, our presumptuous wits must not condem :  
 They be'ing not ignorant ; but we, of them.

## 12

For, heere, we looke vpon another Crown,  
 An other image of Nobilitie,  
 (Which ciuile Discord had not yet brought down  
 Vnto a lower range of dignity) ;  
 Vpon a Powre as yet not ouer-flowne  
 With th'Ocean of all-drowning Sov'raintie.  
 These Lords, who thus against their Kings draw swords,  
 Taught Kings to come, how to be more then Lords.

## 13

Which well this Queene observ'd ; and therefore fought  
 To draw them in, and ruine them with Peace ;  
 Whom Force (she saw) more dangerous had wrought,  
 And did their powre and malice but increase :  
 And therefore, to the Citty hauing got,  
 A Counsell was convok't, all iarres to cease :<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diuers graue persons were sent to the D. of York to mediat a reconciliation : and a great Councell was called at London, Ann. reg. 36, to agree all differences : Whither cam the E. of Salis. with 500. men, the D. of Yorke with 400. and was lodged at his house, at Bainsards Castle. The Dukes of Excester, and Somerset, with 800. men, lodged without Temple Bar. The E. of Northū. the LL. Egremōt & Clifford with 1500, & lodged without the Cittie : The E. of Warwick from Calais with 600. men al in his liuery. The L. Mayor kept continuall watch with 2000. men in armor during the treaty. Wher in by the great trauaile & exhortation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other graue Prelates, a reconciliation was concluded, and celebrated with a folène proceffion (not in <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>).

St. 13, l. 6, 'Summons a Parlement' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.



Where come these Lords at length ; but yet so strong,  
As if to doe, rather then suffer wrong.

## 14

Here Scottisb border broyles, and feares of *Fraunce*,  
Vrg'd with the present times necessity,  
Brought forth a futtle-shadowed countenance  
Of quiet peace, refembling Amitie ;  
Wrapt in a strong and curious ordinaunce,  
Of many Articles, bound solemnly :  
As if those *Gordian* knots could be so ti'd,  
As no impatient sword could them diuide :

## 15

Especially, whereas the selfe same ends  
Concur not in a point of like respect ;  
But that each party couertly intends  
Thereby their owne designments to effect :  
Which Peace, with more indangering wounds, offends,  
Then Warre can doe ; that stands vpon suspect,  
And neuer can be ty'd with other chaine,  
Then intermutuall benefite and gaine.

## 16

As well by this concluded Act is seene :  
Which had no power to holde-in minds, out-bent ;  
But quickly was dissolv'd and canceld cleene,  
Either by *Warwicks* fortune or intent.  
How euer vrg'd, the Seruants of the Queene  
Assaulted his, as he from Counsell went<sup>1</sup> :  
Where, his owne person, egerly purfu'd,  
Hardly (by Boate) escap't the multitude.

<sup>1</sup> The E. of Warwicke is set vpon by the Queenes seruants.  
St. 15, l. 8, 'mutvall vtilitie'<sup>1</sup>,<sup>2</sup>.

## 17

Which deed, most heynous made, and vrg'd as his,  
 The Queene (who soone th'aduantage apprehends)  
 Thought forthwith t'haue committed him on this :  
 But, he preuents, flyes North-ward to his friends,  
 Shewes them his danger, and what hope there is  
 In her, that all their ouerthrowes intends ;  
 " And that these drifts, th'effects of this Peace are :  
 " Which giues more deadly wounding blowes, then war.

## 18

Strooke with his heate, began the others fire  
 (Kindled with danger, and disdaine) t'inflame :  
 Which hauing well prepar'd, to his desire,  
 He leaues the farther growing of the fame,  
 And vnto *Calais* (to his strong retire)  
 With speed betakes him, to preuent the fame  
 Of his impos'd offence ; leaft, in disgrace,  
 He might be dispossessed of that place.

## 19

*Yorke* straight aduif'd the Earle of *Salisbury*,  
 T'addresse him to the King : and therevpon,  
 With other grieuances, to signifie  
 Th'iniurious act committed on his Sonne ;  
 And there, to vrge the breach of th'Amitie,  
 By these finifter plots to be begun :  
 But, he so strongly goes, as men might ghesse,  
 He purpos'd not to craue, but make redresse.

St. 19, l. 3, 'As by way of complaint' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>2</sup> : l. 6, 'To be by these' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>2</sup>.

## 20

Whom, the Lord *Audly*, haſting to reſtraine,  
 (Sent, with ten thouſand men, well furniſhed)  
 Encountred on *Blore-heath* ; where he is ſlaine,  
 And all his powre and force diſcomfited<sup>1</sup> :  
 Which chaunce, ſo opened and let-out againe  
 The hopes of *Yorke* (whom Peace had fettered)  
 That he reſolues, what-euer ſhould befall,  
 To ſet vp's Reſt, to venture now for all.

## 21

Fury, vnti'd, and broken out of bands,  
 Runnes deſp'rate preſently to either head :  
 Faction and Warre (that neuer wanted hands  
 For Bloud and Miſchiefe) ſoone were furniſhed :  
 Affection findes a ſide : and out it ſtands ;  
 Not by the Cauſe, but by her int'reſt led :  
 And many, vrging Warre, moſt forward are ;  
 " Not that 't is iuſt, but only that 'tis Warre.

## 22

Whereby, the Duke is growne t'a mighty head  
 In *Shropſhire*, with his Welſh and Northren ayde :  
 To whom came *Warwicke*, hauing ordered  
 His charge at *Calais* ; and with him conuay'd  
 Many braue Leaders, that aduentured  
 Their fortunes on the ſide that he had lay'd :  
 Whereof as chiefe, *Trollop* and *Blunt* excell'd :  
 But, *Trollop* fayld his friends ; *Blunt* faithfull held.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James Tuichet L. Audly ſlaine at Bloreheath and his army diſcomfited by the E. of Salisb. with the loſſe of 2400. men. An. reg. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Andrew Trollop, afterwarde fled to the King. Iohn Blūt remainde with the Lords.

St. 21, l. 2, ' headlong ' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

St. 22, l. 8, ' But th'one betrayd their cauſe ' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

## 23

The King (prouok't these mischiefs to preuent,  
 Follow'd with *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter*)  
 Strongly appointed, all his forces bent,  
 Their malice to correct or to deterre :  
 And, drawing neere, a reuerent Prelate ſent  
 To proffer pardon,<sup>1</sup> if they would referre  
 Their Cauſe to Peace ; as being a cleaner courſe  
 Vnto their ends, then this foule barb'rous force.

## 24

“ For, what a warre, ſayd he, is here begun,  
 “ Where euen the victory is held accurſt ?  
 “ And who-ſo winnes, it will be ſo ill won,  
 “ That though he haue the beſt, he ſpeeds the worſt.  
 “ For, here your making, is, to be vndon ;  
 “ Seeking t'obtaine the State, you loſe it firſt :  
 “ Both ſides being one, the bloud conſum'd all one ;  
 “ To make it yours, you worke to haue it none.

## 25

“ Leaue then with this, though this be yet a ſtaine  
 “ T'attempt this finne, to be ſo neere a fall.  
 “ The doubtfull Dye of warre, caſt at the Maine,  
 “ Is ſuch, as one bad chaunce may loſe you all.  
 “ A certaine finne, ſeekes an vncertaine gaine :  
 “ Which, got, your ſelues euen wayle and pittie ſhall.  
 “ No way, but Peace, leades out from blood and feares ;  
 “ To free your ſelues, the Land, and vs, from teares.

<sup>1</sup> The King, beeing at Worceſter, ſends the B. of Salifbury to the LL. to induce them to peace, & to offer pardon.

St. 23, l. 5, ‘ And neere them came ’ 2, 2.

## 26

Whereto the discontented part replyes ;  
 " That they, hereto by others wrongs inforc't,  
 " Had no way else but these extremities,  
 " And worst meanes of redresse, t'auoide the worst.  
 " For, since that peace did but their spoyles deuise,  
 " And held them out from grace (as men diuorc't  
 " From th'honors, that their fortunes did afford)  
 " Better die with the sword, then by the sword.

## 27

" For, if pacts, vows, or oaths, could haue done ought,  
 " There had enough been done : but, to no end  
 " Saue to their ruine, who had ever fought  
 " To auoide these broyls, as grieuing to contend ;  
 " Smothering disgraces, drawing to parts remote,  
 " As exil'd men : where now they were, to attend  
 " His Grace with all respect, and reuerence ;  
 " Not with the sword of malice, but defence.

## 28

Whereby, they shewed, that words were not to win :  
 But yet the Pardon works so feelingly,<sup>1</sup>  
 That to the King, that very night, came-in  
*Sir Andrew Trollop*, with some company,  
 Contented to redeeme his sinne with sinne ;  
 Disloyalty, with infidelitie :  
 And, by this meanes, became discouered quite  
 All th'orders of th'intended next dayes fight.

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Salisbury offered pardon, to all such as would submit themselves.

St. 28, l. 2, 'effectually' ;

## 29

Which so much wrought vpon their weakened feares,  
That presently their Campe brake vp, ere day ;  
And euery man with all his speed prepares,  
According to their course, to shift their way.  
*Yorke*, with his youngest Sonne, tow'ards *Ireland* beares<sup>1</sup> ;  
*Warwicke* to *Calais*, where his safety lay ;  
To that sure harbor of conspiracie,  
Enuies Retreit, Rebellions nursery.

## 30

Which fatall place, seemes that with either hand  
Is made t'offend.<sup>2</sup> For, *Fraunce* sh'afflicts with th'one :  
And with the other, did infest this Land ;  
As if ordained to doe good to none :  
But, as a Gate to both our ills did stand,  
To let-out plagues on vs, and int'her owne :  
A part without vs, that small good hath bin  
But to keepe, lesse intire, the whole within.

## 31

And there, as in their all and best support,  
Is *Warwicke* got, with *March* and *Salisbury* ;  
When all the Gates of *England*, euery Port  
And Shore close-shut, debarres their reentry ;  
Lockt out from all ; and all left in that sort,  
As no meanes seemes can ayde their misery.  
This wound, giuen without blowe, weakens them more,  
Then all their losse of blood had done before.

<sup>1</sup> The D. of York, with his youngest sonne the E. of Rutland, withdrew him into Ireland where he was exceedingly beloued.

<sup>2</sup> The inconueniēces of Calais at that time.

St. 30, l. 2, 'Sh'is made 's, 's': l. 5, no, after 'But,' and in l. 8 no, after 'keepe' in 's, 's'.

St. 31, l. 4, 'r'entry' 's, 's'.

## 32

For, now againe vpon them frowningly  
 Stands Powre with Fortune, trampling on their States ;  
 And brands them with the markes of Infamy ;  
 Rebellions, Treasons, and Affassinats ;  
 Attaints their Bloud, in all Posteritie ;  
 Ranfacks their Lands, spoiles their Confederats ;  
 And layes so hideous colours on their crimes,  
 As would haue terrified more timorous times.

## 33

But, heere could doe no good : for why ? this Age,  
 Being in a course of motion, could not rest,  
 Vntill the reuolution of their rage  
 Came to that poynt, whereto it was addrest.  
 Misfortune, crosses, ruine, could not swage  
 That heate of hope, or of reuenge, at least.  
 " The World, once set a-worke, cannot soone cease :  
 " Nor euer is the same, it is in peace.

## 34

For, other motions, other int'refts heere,  
 The acting spirits vp and awake doe keepe :  
 " Faith, friendship, honour is more sure, more deere,  
 " And more it selfe, then when it is asleepe :  
 Worth will stand-out, and doth no shadowes feare :  
 Disgraces make impressions far more deepe ;

St. 32 (= 33), l. 1, 'vpon them stands imperiously' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 2, 'Fortune and Powre, with all the States grace on' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 4, 'Treason, Conspiracie, Rebellion' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 5, 'Degrades, deprives them of abilitie' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 6, 'B'attayndor and by confiscation' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 7, 'sets a hidious face vpon' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>: l. 8, 'Which' <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>.

St. 34, l. 1, 'Other occasions' <sup>2</sup>: l. 6, 'Disgrace receiues' <sup>2</sup>.

When Ease, ere it will stirre, or breake her rest,  
Lyes still, beares all, content to be opprest.

## 35

*Yorke*, and his fide, could not, while life remain'd,  
Though thus disperst, but worke and interdeale :  
Nor any sword, at home, could keepe restrain'd  
Th'out-breaking powres of this innated zeale.  
This humor had so large a passage gain'd,  
On th'inward body of the Common-weale ;  
That 'twas impossible to stop, by force,  
This current of affection's violent course.

## 36

Yet they at home (disorder to keepe forth)  
Did all what powre could doe, or wit inuent ;  
Plac't, in th'auoided roomes, men of great worth ;  
Young *Sommerfet*, with strength to *Calais* sent<sup>1</sup> ;  
*Northumberland* and *Clifford* to the North ;  
(Whereof They onely had the gouernment)  
Defend all landings, barre all passages,  
Striue to redresse the publique grieuances :

## 37

And, to this end, summon a Parlement<sup>2</sup> :  
Wherein, when-as the godly King would not,

St. 34, l. 7, 'rather then stirre' <sup>2</sup>.

St. 36, l. 1, 'Yet they at home all their best meanes brought forth' <sup>2</sup> : l. 2,  
'Disordred broyles t'appease or to preuent' <sup>2</sup> : l. 4, 'Great *Sommerfet*' <sup>2</sup>.

St. 37, l. 1, 'summons' <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hen. the young D. of Sommerf. was, in An. reg. 37, made Captain of Calais, & a priuie seal sent to the E. of Warwicke, to discharge him of that place : who, in respect he was made Captaine there by Parliament, woul d not obey the priuie seale.

<sup>2</sup> The Parliament at Couentry.



Vnto th'attainder of the Lords, consent ;  
 The Queene in grieve (and in her passions hot)  
 Breakes out in speech, louingly violent :  
 " And what (faith shee) my Lord, haue you forgot  
 " To rule and be a King ? Why will you thus  
 " Be milde to them, and cruell vnto vs ?

## 38

" What good haue you procur'd by clemencie,  
 " But giuen to wilde presumption much more head ?  
 " And now what cure, what other remedie  
 " Can to our desp'rat wounds be ministred ?  
 " Men are not good, but for necessitie ;  
 " Nor orderly are euer borne, but bred.  
 " Sad want, and pouertie, makes men industrious :  
 " But, Law must make them good, and feare obsequious.

## 39

" My Lord ; Hee gouerns well, that's well obeyd :  
 " And temp'rat Rigour euer safely fits.  
 " For, as to him, who *Cotis* did vpbraid,  
 " And call'd his rigor, madnesse, raging fits ;  
 " Content thee, thou vnskilfull man, he said,  
 " My madnesse keepes my Subiects in their wits :  
 " So, to like course my Lord, y'are forc't to fall ;  
 " Or else you must, in th'end, vndoe vs all.

## 40

" Looke but, I pray, on this deare part of you ;  
 " This branch (sprung frõ your blood) your owne aspect :  
 " Looke on this Childe, and think what shal ensue  
 " To this faire hope of ours, by your neglect.  
 " Though you respect not vs, wrong not his due,

<sup>1</sup> *Cotis*, a Tyrant of Thrace.

"That must his right, left you, from you expect;  
 "The right of the renowned *Lancasters*,  
 "His fathers fathers, and great grand-fathers.

## 41

"Then turnes t' her sonne : O sonne! dost thou not see?  
 "He is not mov'd, nor toucht, nor weighe our teares.  
 "What shall I doe? What hope is left for me,  
 "When he wants will to help, & thou wantst yeares?  
 "Could yet these hands of thine but partners bee  
 "In these my labours, to keep-out our feares,  
 "How well were I? that now alone must toile,  
 "And turne, and tosse; and yet vndone the while.

## 42

"I knowe, if thou could'st helpe, thy mother thus  
 "Should not beyond her strength endure so much;  
 "Nor these proud Rebels, that would ruine vs,  
 "Scape with their hainous treasons, without touch:  
 "I knowe, thou would'st conceiue how dangerous  
 "Mercy were vnto those, whose hopes are such;  
 "And not preferue, whom Law hath ouer-throwne,  
 "Sauing their liuely-hood, to lose our owne.

## 43

"But, sith thou canst not, nor I able am,  
 "Thou must no more expect of me, deare Son;  
 "Nor yet, in time to come, thy Mother blame,  
 "If thou, by others weakenesse be vndon.  
 "The world, with me, must testifie the same,  
 "That I haue done my best, what could be done;

St. 40, l. 7, 'renowned' ?    St. 41, l. 8, 'b'vndone' ?  
 St. 43, l. 1, 'since' ?

" And haue not fail'd, with hazard of my life,  
 " The duetie of a mother and a wife.

## 44

" But well ; I see which way the world will goe :  
 " And let it goe : and so turnes her about,  
 Full, with stout griefe, and with disdainefull woe ;  
 Which, now, her words shut-up, her lookes let-out.  
 The cast of her side-bended eye, did shewe  
 Both sorrow and reproofe ; se'ing so great doubt,  
 And no powre to redresse, but stand and vex,  
 Imprisoned in the fetters of her sex.

## 45

Yet, so much wrought these mouing arguments  
 (Drawne from that blood, where Nature vrg'd her Right)  
 As his all-vpward tending zeale relents ;  
 And, downeward to his State, declines his sight :  
 And so, to their Attainders he consents<sup>1</sup> ;  
 Prouided, He, on their submission, might  
 Out of his Princely powre, in his owne name,  
 Without a Parlement, reuoke the same.

<sup>1</sup> At this Parliament at Couentry, in the yeere 1459, in the 38 of Hen. 6. is Ric. D. of Yorke, with his son Edw. and all his posteritie, and partakers, attainted, to the ninth degree, their goods and possessions escheated, their tenants spoiled of their goods, the Towne of Ludlom pertaining to the D. of Yorke ranfact, and the Dutcheys of Yorke spoyled of her goods. Henrie D. of Sommerfet with the LL. Audly, and Rosse attempted the towne of Calais, but were repulst ; his people yeelding themselves to the E. of War. and himselfe hardly escaped. [The words "and partakers" are omitted, and the note closes at "ninth degree" <sup>2</sup>.]

St. 45, l. 2, 'Nature ought stand vpon' <sup>2</sup> : l. 4, 'Lookes somewhat downe t' a selfe tuition' <sup>2</sup> : l. 6, 'As that himselfe, on their submission' <sup>2</sup> : l. 7, 'Might by his,' etc., <sup>2</sup>.

## 46

Whil'ft *Sommerfet* with maine endeouour lay  
 To get his giuen (but vngot) gouernment,  
 The stout *Califians* (bent another way)  
 Fiercely repell him, frustrate his intent :  
 Yet takes he *Guines*, landing at *VWhitſandbay* :  
 Where-as the swordes, hee brought, would not content  
 To wound his foes : the fight no rancor hath :  
 Malice was friends : and Warre was without wrath.

## 47

Though hee their hands, yet *VVarwicke* had their  
 To whom, both men and ſhipping they betray'd ; [hearts :  
 Whilſt *Englands*. (though debarred) ſhore imparts,  
 To him, her other-where intended ayde :  
 For, the Lord *Riuers*, paſſing to thoſe parts,  
 T'haue freſh ſupplies vnto the Duke conuay'd<sup>1</sup> ;  
 At *Sandwich*, with his Sonne accompayned,  
 Staying for winde, was taken in his bed.

## 48

Whofe ſhipping, and prouiſions, *VVarwicke* takes  
 For *Ireland*, with his Chieftaine to conferre<sup>2</sup> :  
 And within thirtie dayes this voyage makes,  
 And backe-returns, ere knowne to haue beene there :  
 So that the heauens, the ſea, the winde partakes  
 With him ; as if they of his faction were ;  
 Or that his ſpirit and valour were combin'd,  
 With deſtinie, t'effect what he deſign'd.

<sup>1</sup> The L. Riuers, and his ſonne Sir Anthony Wooduill, were taken by Iohn Dinham, at Sandwich ; whether they were ſent to guard the towne, and ſupply the D. of Sommerſet.

<sup>2</sup> The E. of Warwick ſayled into Ireland to conferre with the D. of Yorke.

St. 46, l. 4, 'frustrates' \*

## 49

Which working, though without, and on the shore,  
 Reacht yet vnto the centre of the Land ;  
 Searcht all those humors that were bred before ;  
 Shakes the whole frame, whereon the State did stand ;  
 " Affection, pittie, fortune, feare being more  
 " Farre off and absent, then they are at hand.  
 " Pittie becomes a traytor with th'opprest :  
 " And many haue beene rayf'd, by being supprest.

## 50

For, they had left, although themselues were gone,  
 Opinion and their memorie behinde.  
 Which so preuayles, that nought could here be done,  
 But straight was knowne as soone as once design'd :  
 Court, Councell-chamber, Clofet, all were won,  
 To be reuealers of the Princes minde :  
 So false is Faction, and so smooth a lyer,  
 As that it neuer had a fide entire.

## 51

Whereby, th'exil'd had leasure to preuent,  
 And circumuent, what-euer was deuiz'd :  
 Which made, that *Faulconbridge*, to *Sandwich* bent,  
 That Fortresse and the Gouvernour surpriz'd<sup>1</sup> :  
 Who, presently from thence to *Calais* sent,  
 Had his vnguiltie blood there sacrific'd :  
 And *Faulconbridge*, returning backe, relates  
 Th'affection here, and zeale of all estates.

<sup>1</sup> The L. *Faulconbridge*, sent to *Sandwich*, tooke the Towne and Sir Simon Monfort Gouvernor thereof.

St. 50.—This is misnumbered again 49, and so onward.—Corrected. G.

St. 51, l. 3, 'towards' <sup>2</sup>.

## 52

Drawne with which newes, and with a spirit that dar'd  
 T'attempt on any likelihood of support ;  
 They take th'aduantage of so great regard ;  
 Their landing here secur'd them in such sort,  
 By *Faulconbridge* ; the fatall bridge prepar'd  
 To be the way of blood, and to transport  
 Returning furie to make greater wounds  
 Then euer *England* saw within her bounds.

## 53

And but with fiftene hundred men do land,  
 Vpon a Land, with many millions stor'd :  
 So much, did high-prefuming Courage stand  
 On th'ayde, home-disobedience would afford.  
 Nor were their hopes deceiv'd : for, such a hand  
 Had Innouation ready for the sword,  
 As ere they neere vnto the Cittie drew,  
 Their powre beyond all former greatnesse grew.

## 54

*Muse*, what may we imagine was the Cause  
 That *Furie* workes thus vniuerfally ?  
 What humor, what affection, is it, drawes  
 Sides, of such powre, to this Nobilitie ?  
 Was it their Conscience, to redresse the Lawes ;  
 Or malice, to a wrong-plac't Sov'rainty,  
 That caus'd them (more then wealth, or life) desire  
 Destruction, ruine, bloud-shed, sword and fire ?

St. 54, l. 1, 'Muse, what shall' : ll. 5-8—

' Was it their eminence who waighd no lawes ?  
 Or the as-yet vnstrayn'd vp Sou'rainty,  
 Which had this disproportion in the partes  
 Of might to draw, diuert, and gouerne hartes ?'.

## 55

Or was the Powre of Lords (thus inter-plac't  
Betwixt the height of Princes, and the State)  
Th'occasion that the people so imbrac't  
Their actions, and attend on this Debate ?  
Or had their Greatnesse, with their Worth, imbas't  
The Touch of *Royaltie* to so lowe rate,  
As their opinion could such tumults moue ?  
Then Powre, and Virtue, you contagious proue.

## 56

And *Perianders* leuell'd Eares of Corne  
Shew what is fittest for the publique Rest ;  
And that the hyest Minions which adorne  
A *Common-weale* (and doo become it best)  
Are *Zeale* and *Iustice*, *Law*, and *Customes*, borne  
Of hye descent ; that neuer do infest  
The Land with false suggestions, claymes, affrights,  
To make men lose their owne, for others rights.

St. 55, ll. 1-4—

' Or did th'opinion of a powre wrong plac'd  
Cause this infectious sicknesse of the State,  
That men rather then wealth, or life, imbrac'd  
Destruction, ruine, bloodshed and debate ? ' 2 :

l. 6, 'Virtues, and Maiestie to this' 2 : ll. 7, 8—

' Then Virtu' and Worth you proue contagious,  
And Honour out of Square growes dangerous ' 2.

St. 56, l. 1, 'Where' 2 : ll. 2-8—

' Yeeld Princes safetie, and the peoples rest,  
Whilst next to Kinges are plac'd (kinges to adorne)  
These (as the Minions who are fauored best)  
Religion, Law, Statutes, Customes borne  
Of high descent, that neuer do infest  
The land with false suggestions, titles, claymes,  
Nor seeke for Crownes, whereat Ambition aymes ' 2.

## 57

But now, againſt this diſproportion, bends  
 The feeble King all his beſt induſtrie :  
 And, from abroad, *Skales, Louell, Kendall*, fends,  
 To hold the Cittie in fidelitie<sup>1</sup> ;  
 The Cittie, which before (for others ends)  
 Was wrought to leaue the part of Royaltie ;  
 Where, though the Kings commaund was of no powre ;  
 Yet worke theſe Lords ſo, that they tooke the Towre :

## 58

And, from thence, labour to bring-in againe  
 The out-let will of diſobediencie ;  
 Send terror, threatens, intreaties ; but in vaine :  
*VVarwicke*, and *March*, are with all iollitie  
 And grace receiv'd.<sup>2</sup> The Citties loue did gaine  
 The beſt part of a Crowne<sup>3</sup> : for whoſe defence,  
 And intertaining ſtill, ſtayes *Salſburie*,<sup>4</sup>  
 Whil'ſt *March*, and *VVarwicke* other fortunes try ;

## 59

Conducting their freſh troupes againſt their King  
 (Who leaues a woman to ſupply his ſteed) :

<sup>1</sup> The King, from Couentry ſendes the L. Skales, the L. Louel, the E. of Kendal to London, with others, to keep the Cittie in obedience.

<sup>2</sup> The EE. of March, Warwike, and Salifburie, landing at Sandwich, were met by the Archb. of Cant. who with his Croſſe borne before him accompayned them to Londō. An. reg. 38.

<sup>3</sup> The affection which the Citie of London bare to the D. of Yorke was an eſpeciall meane for the rayſing of that line, to the Crowne.

<sup>4</sup> The E. of Salifbury left to keepe the Cittie.

St. 57, l. 3, 'From Couentry' : l. 6, 'Maieſtie'.

St. 58, l. 2, 'diſobediencie' : l. 4, 'reuerence' : l. 5, 'This place, this loue did gaine' : l. 7, 'And holding ſtill'.

St. 59, l. 1, 'Leading their new got troupes' : l. 2, 'Who had t'a womans care reſignd his heed'.



And neere *Northhampton*, both imbattailing,<sup>1</sup>  
 Made, now, the very heart of *England* bleed :  
 Where, what strange resolutions both sides bring :  
 And with what deadly rancour they proceed,  
 Witnesse the blood there shed, and fowly shed ;  
 That cannot, but with fighes, be registred.

60

There, *Buckingham*, *Talbot*, and *Egremond*,  
*Bewmont*, and *Lucy* ; parts of *Lancaster*  
 (Parts most important, and of chiefe account)  
 In this vnhappy day, extinguisht are.<sup>2</sup>  
 There, the Lord *Grey*, (whose fayth did not amount  
 Vnto the trust committed to his care)  
 Betrayes his King,<sup>3</sup> borne to be strangely toft ;  
 And, late againe attain'd, againe is loft.<sup>4</sup>

61

Againe is loft this out-side of a King,  
 Ordain'd for others vses, not his owne :  
 Who, to the part that had him, could but bring  
 A feeble body onely, and a Crowne ;  
 But yet was held to be the dearest thing  
 Both sides did labor-for, so much ; to crowne  
 Their Cause with the apparency of might :  
 From whom, and by whom, they must make their Right ;

<sup>1</sup> The Battell of Northhampton.

<sup>2</sup> The D. of Bucking. the E. of Shrewesb. the L. Egremond, Iohn Vicont Bewmont, Sir William Lucy slaine.

<sup>3</sup> The L. Edmond Grey of Ruthen who led the Vant-guard of K. Henrie withdrew himself and tooke part with the L.L.

<sup>4</sup> The King is consuade to London, the Towre yeelded vp to the Lords, and the L. Skales who kept it, is murthred.

St 61, l. 5, 'Which yet was that they held the only thing' : l. 6, 'And both sides labord for'.

## 62

When he himfelfe (as if he nought esteem'd  
 The higheft Crowne on earth) continues one ;  
 Weake to the world : which, his Religion deem'd  
 Like to the breath of man ; vaine, and foone gone :  
 Whil't the ftout Queene, by fpeedy flight redeem'd  
 The fafety of her felfe, and of her Sonne :  
 And, with her, *Sommerfet*<sup>1</sup> to *Durham* fled ;  
 Her powres, fuppreft, her heart vnvanquifhed.

## 63

So much for abfent *Yorke*, is acted here,  
 Attending *English* hopes, on th'*Irish* coaft.  
 Which when, vnlookt-for, they related were,  
 Ambition (ftill on horfe-backe) comes in poaft,  
 And feemes with greater glory to appeare ;  
 As made the more, by be'ing fo long time loft :  
 And to the Parlement with ftate is led,  
 Which his affociates had fore-fummoned.

## 64

And, com'n into the Chamber of the Peeres,  
 He fets himfelfe downe, in the chayre of State :  
 Where, fuch an vnexpected face appeares  
 Of an amazed Court, that gazing fate  
 With a dumbe filence (feeming, that it feares  
 The thing it went about t'effectuate)

<sup>1</sup> The D. of Sommerfet.

St. 62, l. 1, 'Whilft'.

St. 63, l. 2, 'Stay'ng ftill' : l. 4, 'Ambition fayles not to be here in poaft' : l. 5, 'And comes' : l. 6, 'Which feemes to be made more, by be'ing long loft'.

St. 64, l. 1, 'come' : l. 2, 'him . . . Eftate' : l. 5, 'as it feemes it feares'.

As if the Place, the Cause, the Conscience, gaue  
Barres to the words, their forced course should haue.

## 65

Tis strange, those times, which brought such hāds for  
blood,  
Had not bred tongues to make good any side ;  
And that no prostituted conscience stood,  
Any iniustice to haue iustifi'd  
(As men of the forelone hope, onely good  
In desperateſt acts to be imploy'd)  
And that none, in th'assembly there was found,  
That would t'ambitious descant giue a ground :

## 66

That euen himſelfe (forc't of neceſſitie)  
Muſt be the Orator of his owne Cause.  
For, hauing viewd them all, and could eſpie  
None proffring once to ſpeake (all, in a pauſe)  
On this friend lookes with an inuiting eye,  
And then on that (as if he woo'd applauſe)  
Holding the cloth of State ſtill in his hand ;  
The ſigne, which he would haue them vnderſtand.

## 67

But ſe'ing none moue ; with an imperiall port,  
Gath'ring his ſpirits, he ryſes from his ſeat ;  
Doth, with ſuch powre of wordes, his Cause ſupport,  
As ſeemes all other Cauſes to defeat.  
“ And, ſure, who workes his Greatneſſe in that ſort,  
“ Muſt haue more powres, then thoſe that are borne great :  
“ Such Reuolutions are not wrought, but when  
“ Thoſe ſpirits doe worke, which muſt be more then men.

St. 65, l. 5, 'forelone' ?

St. 67, l. 8, ' Thoſe ſpirits worke ' ?

## 68

He argues first his Right, so long with-held  
 By th'vsurpation of the *Lancasters* ;  
 " The Right of a direct Line, alwayes held  
 " The sacred course of Blood ; our Ancestors,  
 " Our Lawes, our reuerent Customes haue vp-held  
 " With holy hands. Whence, when disorder erres,  
 " What horrors, what confusion, do we see,  
 " Vntill it be reduc't where it should bee ?

## 69

" And how it prospers with this wretched Land,  
 " Witnesse the vniuersall miserie,  
 " Wherein (as if accurst) the Realme doth stand ;  
 " Depriu'd of State, wealth, honor, dignitie ;  
 " The Church, and Commons, vnderneath the hand  
 " Of violence, extortion, robbery ;  
 " No face of order, no respect of Lawes :  
 " And thus complaynes of what himselfe is cause ;

## 70

" Accusing others infolence, that they  
 " Exhausted the Reuenues of the Crowne :  
 " So that the King was forc't onely to prey  
 " Vpon his Subiects, poore and wretched growne)  
 " And that they now fought *Ireland* to betray,  
 " And *Calais* to the *French* ; which hee had knowne,  
 " By th'intercepted notes of their owne hand,  
 " Who were the onely Traytors of the Land :

St. 68, l. 8, ' Till it b'again' '².

St. 69, l. 5, ' The Church opprest, the Laytie vnder the hand '².

## 71

" And yet procur'd th'Attaynders most vniuft,  
 " Of others guiltlesse and vnspotted blood ;  
 " Who euermore had labour'd, in their trust  
 " And faithfull seruice for their Countries good :  
 " And who with extreame violence were thrust  
 " Quite out of all, spoyl'd of their liuelihood,  
 " Expof'd to all the miferies of life :  
 " Which they indur'd, to put-off blood and strife.

## 72

" But since (sayth he) their malice hath no ende,  
 " But t'end vs all, and to vndo the Land :  
 " (For which, the hatefull *French* gladly attend,  
 " And at this instant haue their swords in hand)  
 " And that the God of heauen doth seeme to bend  
 " Vnto our Cause, whereto the best men stand ;  
 " And that this blood of mine, so long time fought,  
 " Referued seemes, for some thing to be wrought ;

## 73

" It rests within your iudgements, to vp-right,  
 " Or else to ruine vtterly the Land.  
 " For, this be sure, I must pursue my Right  
 " Whil'st I haue breath, or I and mine can stand.  
 " Thinke, whether this poore State, being in this plight,  
 " Stands not in need of some vp-rayfing hand :  
 " Or whether 'tis not time we should haue rest,  
 " And this confusion, and our wounds redrest.

St. 71, l. 8, 't'auoyd bloodshed and strife'.

St. 72, l. 8, 'Seemes as referu'd to be for something wrought'.

## 74

This said, he turnes aside, and out hee goes ;  
 Leaues them to counsell what was to be done.  
 Where, though the most part gath'ed, were of those  
 Who with no opposition sure would run ;  
 Yet some, more temp'rate, offred to propose  
 That which was fit to bee considered on :  
 Who, though they knew his clayme was faire, in fight ;  
 Yet thought, it now lackt the right face of Right ;

## 75

Since, for the space of three score yceres, the Crowne  
 Had beene in act posselt, in three descents ;  
 Confirm'd by all the Nobles of renowne,  
 The peoples suffrages, Oathes, Parlements<sup>1</sup> ;  
 So many Actes of State, both of our owne,  
 And of all other foraine Gouvernments :  
 " That Wrong, by order, may grow Right by-this ;  
 " Sith Right, th'obseruer but of Order is.

## 76

" And then confidring, first, how *Bullingbrooke*,  
 " Landing in *Yorkeeshire* but with three score men,  
 " By the consent of all the Kingdome, tooke  
 " The Crowne vpon him, held for lawfull then ;  
 " His Vncle *Yorke* and all the Peeres betooke  
 " Themselues to him, as to their Soueraigne ; when  
 " King Richards wrongs, and his propinquitie,  
 " Did seeme to make no distance in their eye :

<sup>1</sup> *Non confirmatur tractu temporis, quod de iure ab initio non iustificat.*

St. 74, l. 4, 'Who sure would make no opposition' : l. 6, 'Matter worthy consideration' : l. 7, 'right' : l. 8, 'Yet seem'd not now t'haue the'.

St. 75, l. 4, 'Peoples assent' : l. 8, 'Since'.

St. 76, l. 6, 'when' omitted : l. 7, 'The others wronges'.

## 77

" Nor was without example, in those dayes :  
 " Wherein (as in all Ages) States do take  
 " The fide of publike Peace, to counterpayfe  
 " The waight of wrong ; which, time may rightfull make.  
 " No elderhood, *Rufus* and *Henrie* stayes,<sup>1</sup>  
 " The imperiall Crowne of *England* t'vndertake :  
 " And *Iohn*, before his nephew *Arthur*, speedes ;  
 Whom, though depriv'd, *Henry* his sonne succeedes.<sup>2</sup>

## 78

*Edward* the third, made Sov'raigne of the State,  
 Vpon his fathers deprivation, was :  
 All which, though seeming wrongs, yet fairely fate  
 In their succeders, and for right did passe.  
 And if they could so worke, t'accommodate,  
 And calme the Peeres, and please the Populasse ;  
 They wight, the Crowne might, where it stood, remaine,  
 Succeeding inconuenience to restraine.

## 79

Thus th'auncient Fathers of the Law aduise ;  
 Graue Baron *Thorpe* and learned *Fortescue* :  
 Who, though they could not fashion, otherwise,  
 Those strong-bent humors, which auerfiue grew ;  
 Yet seem'd to qualifie th'extreamities.  
 And some respect more to their Sov'raine drew ;

<sup>1</sup> W. Rufus and Hen. 1. preferd before their elder brother.

<sup>2</sup> Hen. 3. succeeds in the kingdome after the deprivation of his father, and the election of Lewes.

St. 78, l. 1, 'enters vnto the State': l. 2, 'was' omitted: l. 3, 'rightly': l. 4, 'In th'after body of succession': l. 6, 'All thinges to each mans satisfaction': l. 8, 'Further confused mischiefes'.

St. 79, l. 4, 'a way-ward grew': l. 6, 'And to that godly King some reuerence drew'.

That, during life, it was by all agreed,  
He should be King, and *Yorke* should him succeed :

80

Which, presently enacted, was (beside)  
Proclaym'd through-out with all solemnities ;  
And intermutually there ratifi'd  
With protestations, vowes and oathes, likewise ;  
Built-up, with all the strength of forme, t'abide  
What-euer oppositions could aryse ;  
And might haue seem'd sure and authentically,  
Had all this bodie of the State beene all.

81

But *Trent*, thou keptst a part ; *Thames* had not all :  
The *North* diuided honor, with the *South* :  
And like powre held like Greatnes seuerall :  
Where other Right, spake with another mouth ;  
Another Heire, another Prince they call,  
Whom naturall succession follow doth ;  
The branch of Kings, the true sonne of the Crowne :  
To whom, no father can but leaue his owne.

82

The King, as husband to the Crowne, doth by  
The wiues infeoffement hold ; and onely here  
Inioyes the same for life, by Curtesie ;  
Without powre to dispose it other-where  
(After his death) but as th'authoritie,  
Order, and custome of Succession beare :

St. 79, l. 7, 'That they at length, during his life agreed'.

St. 80, l. 1, 'Which solemnly' : l. 2, 'Proclaym'd with ioyful acclamations' : l. 4, 'By oathes, vowes, protestations' : l. 5, 'Buylt with all strength of forme, as to abide' : l. 6, 'All whatfoeuer oppositions'.

St. 81, l. 8, 'T'whose Child, no father can but loue his owne'.

St. 82, l. 5, 'life'.



And therefore *Henries* Act cannot vndo  
The right of him, whom it belongs vnto.

## 83

And this vnnaturall intrusion, here,  
Of that attainted Blood, out of all course,  
Effected with confusion and with feare,  
Must be reduc't to other tearmes, of force.  
These insolencies Iustice cannot beare :  
The sword (whereto they onely had recourse)  
Must cut this knot, so intricately ty'd ;  
Whose vaine contriued ends are plaine defcry'd.

## 84

Thus they giue-out ; and out the sword in hand  
Is drawne for blood, to iustifie the same :  
And by a side, with many a Worthie, mand ;  
Great *Sommerset, Excester, Buckingham,*  
With *Clifford, Courtney, and Northumberland ;*  
(Lords of as mightie courage as of name)  
Which all, against *Yorkes* forced courses, bend ;  
Who, hauing done, yet had not made an end :

## 85

But, to another worke, is forc't to go ;  
The last turmoyle lab'ring Ambition had :  
Where Pride and Ouer-weening led him so  
(For fortunes past) as made the issue sad :  
For, whether safer counsell would or no,  
His yet vn furnisht troupes he desp'rat led

St. 83, l. 1, 'And the' ; 'here' omitted : l. 3, 'Onely affected with confusion' : l. 5, 'may not thus go on'.

St. 84, l. 5, 'With' omitted : l. 6, 'spirites, as of name' : l. 8, 'Who though h'had done, he had not'.

From *Sandall* Castle, vnto *Wakefield* Greene,  
Against far mightier forces of the Queene.

## 86

Where, round inclof'd by Ambushments fore-lay'd,  
Hard-working for his life (but all in vaine)  
With number and confusion ouer-lay'd,  
Himselfe and valiant *Salisbury* are slaine<sup>1</sup> :  
With whome, the most and dearest blood decay'd  
Of his couragious and aduenturous traine :  
So short a life had those long hopes of his ;  
Borne not to weare the Crowne, he wrought for thus ;

## 87

But, in the ryse of his out-springing lust,  
Now in the last of hope, receiv'd this fall ;  
Now, that his working powres so far had thrust,  
That his desires had but this step to all :  
When, so neere home, he seem'd past all distrust,  
This vnexpected wracke doth him befall :  
This successfor th'inheritor fore-goes ;  
The play-game made of Fortune, and his foes.

## 88

Whose young sonne, *Rutland* (made the sacrifice  
For others finnes, ere he knew how to sinne)  
Brought only but to see this exercise  
Of blood and wounds, endes ere he did beginne :  
Whose teares, whose mone, whose lamentable cries,  
Could neither mercie nor compassion winne :

<sup>1</sup> The Battell of Wakefield, where the D. of Yorke is slaine : the E. of Salisbury taken & beheaded at Yorke : Edmond E. of Rutland, youngest sonne to the D. of Yorke murdered after the Battell, by the L. Clifford.

St. 87, l. 2, 'had this foule fall' ?

The branch of such a tree, though tender now,  
Was not thought fit should any longer growe.

89

Which turning Chaunce, t'a long vngraced side,  
Brings backe their almost quayled hopes againe ;  
And thrust them on, to vse the present Tide  
And Flowe of this occasion, to regaine  
Th'inthralld Monarch, and to vndecide  
The late concluded Act they held for vaine ;  
And mooues their Armies, new refresht with spoyle,  
For more confusion, and for more turmoyle :

90

Victoriously proceeding vnwithstood,  
Till at S. Albones<sup>1</sup> VVarwicke forc't a stand :  
Where-as (to make his owne vndooing good)  
The King is brought against himselfe to band :  
His Powre and Crowne is set against his Blood ;  
Forc't on the side, not of himselfe, to stand.  
Diuided King, in what a case thou art !  
To haue thy hand, thus bent against thy hart.

91

And here this famous fatall place, againe,  
Is made the stage of blood ; againe these streets,  
Imbru'd with slaughter, cov'rd with the flaine,  
Witness what desp'rat wrath with rancor meets.  
But, Fortune now is in an other vaine ;  
Another side her turning fauour greets :  
The King, heere lately lost, is now heere won<sup>2</sup> ;  
Still sure t'vndoe the side that he was on.

<sup>1</sup> The 2. Battell at S. Albones.

<sup>2</sup> The King is againe recouered by the Queene.  
St. 91, l. 6, 'tendring fauour' <sup>4</sup>.

## 92

*VVarwicke*, with other *Genius* then his owne,  
 Had heere to doe : which made him see the face  
 Of sad misfortune, in the selfe same Towne,  
 Where prosp'rous winning, lately gaue him grace<sup>1</sup> :  
 And *Marg'et* heere, this Martiall Amazon,  
 Was, with the spirit of her selfe, in place :  
 Whose labors, Fortune, euen to pittie, stir ;  
 And, being a woman, could but giue it her.

## 93

The reputation and encouragement  
 Of *VWakefield* glory, wakened them to this.  
 And this seemes now the full accomplishment  
 Of all their trauell, all their combrances.  
 For, what can more disturbe this Gouvernment,  
 When *Yorke* extinct, & *VVarwick* conquered, is ?  
 Directing *Salisbury*, left without a head,  
 What reststhere now, that all's not finished ?

## 94

Thus, for the sicke, preserving Nature striues  
 Against corruption, and the loathsome Graue ;  
 When, out of Deaths colde hands, shee backe repriues  
 Th'almost confounded spirits, shee faine would saue :  
 And them cheeres vp, illightens, and reuiues ;  
 Making faint Sickenesse, words of health to haue,  
 With lookes of life, as if the worst were past ;  
 When strait comes dissolution, and his last.

<sup>1</sup> The E. of Warwick with the D. of Norfolk, put to flight, and Sir Iohn Grey slaine on the Kings side.

St. 93, l. 6, ' & ' omitted : l. 7, ' left ' omitted.

## 95

So fares it with this late reuiued Queene :  
 Whose Victories, thus fortunately wonne,  
 Haue but as onely lightning motions beene,  
 Before the ruine that ensu'd thereon.  
 For, now another springing powre is seene ;  
 Whereto, as to the new aryfing Sunne,  
 All turne their faces, leauing those lowe rayes  
 Of setting Fortune, which no Climer waighes.

## 96

Now is yong *March*, more than a Duke of *Yorke* ;  
 For, youth, loue, grace and courage make him more.  
 All which, for Fortunes fauour, now do worke,  
 Who graceth freshest Actors euermore ;  
 Making the first attempt, the chiefeft worke  
 Of any mans designes, that striues therefore.  
 " The after-seafons are not so well blest.  
 " For, those first spirits make their first actions best.

## 97

Now as the *Libyan* Lion, when with paine  
 The wearie Hunter hath purfu'd his prey  
 From Rockes to Brakes, from Thickets to the Plaine,  
 And at the point, thereon his hands to lay,  
 Hard-by his hopes, his eye vpon his gaine,  
 Out-rushing from his denne rapt all away :  
 So comes yong *March*, their endes to disappoint,  
 Who now were growne so neere vnto the point.

## 98

The loue of these important fouterne parts,  
 Of *Essex*, *Surry*, *Middlesex*, and *Kent*,

St. 95, l. 2, 'so fortunately' : St. 96, l. 2, 'makes' : l. 8, 'the first actions' : St. 97, l. 2, 'had' :

The Queene had wholly lost ; as they whose hearts  
 Grew ill affected to her gouernment,  
 Vpon th'vnciuile and presumptuous parts,  
 Play'd by the Northerne troupes, growne insolent :  
 Whom, though she could not gouerne otherwise,  
 Yet th'ill that's wrought for her, vpon her lies.

## 99

So wretched is this execrable Warre,  
 " This ciuile Sworde : wherein, though all wee see  
 " Be foul, and all things miserable are ;  
 " Yet most distresse-full is the victorie :  
 " Which is, not onely th'extream ruiner  
 " Of others ; but, her owne calamity :  
 " Where, who obtains, what he would cannot do :  
 " Their powre hath part, who holpe him thereunto.

St. 99, l. 4, ' Yet most of all is eu'n the victorie ' : l. 7, ' cannot what  
 he would, do ' : l. 8, ' that holpe him.'

After st. 99 (= 100) follow these two additional stanzas :—

' Which caus'd that she not long her conquest ioy'd,  
 Nor long imbrac'd her Lords redemption,  
 Who now with passion wholly ouerjoy'd,  
 Triumphes t'haue lost the day, to be so wonne,  
 Blessing their care, praising their faithful ayde ;  
 Embracing now his wife, and now his sonne,  
 Whom there with many others else he knights,  
 Who for him, held against him fiercest flights.

' Thus he that lately of another side,  
 Was brought of force to be of their intent,  
 Recarried with the current of the tide,  
 Is backe return'd t'his proper element :  
 Th'vnnvoluntary bonds seeme as vntide ;  
 For forced t'offend h'is almost innocent :  
 N'agreement, that necessity constraimes,  
 Longer than the necessity remains.'

## 100

The Citty, whose good-will they most desire,  
 (Yet thereunto durst not commit their state)  
 Sends them not those prouisions they require ;  
 Which seem'd restrained by the peoples hate<sup>1</sup> :  
 Yet *Marches* help farre off, and neere this fire  
 (To winne them time) forc't them to mediate  
 A reconcilment : which, well entertain'd,  
 Was fairely now growen-on, and neerely gain'd :

## 101

When, with a thousand tongs, swift-wing'd Fame coms,  
 And tells of *Marches* gallant Victories :  
 Who, what withstands, subdues ; all ouercomes ;  
 Making his way through fiercest enemies ;  
 As hauing now to cast, in greater Summes,  
 The Reckning of his hopes, that mainly rise.  
 His fathers death, giues more life vnto wrath :  
 And vexed valour, greater courage hath.

## 102

And now, as for his last, his lab'ring worth  
 Works on the coast which on faire *Seuerne* lyes :  
 Whereto his Father (passing to the North)  
 Sent him, to leuie other fresh supplies :  
 But, hearing now what *Wakefield* had brought forth ;  
 Imploring ayde against these iniuries,

<sup>1</sup> The Queene, after the battaile of S. Albones, sent to the Maior of London for certaine prouisions : who willing to furnish hir therewithall, the Commons of the Citie stayed the same, and would not permit the carts to pass. Wherevpon, the L. Mayor sent to excuse himselfe, and to appease the displeasure of the Queene.

St. 100, l. 2, 'thereto durst not to commit' <sup>2</sup>.

St. 102, l. 3, 'Whither, when *Yorke* set forward for the North' <sup>3</sup> : l. 4, 'He's sent' <sup>2</sup>.

Obtains from *Gloster, Worster, Shrewsburie*,  
Important powres, to worke his remedie.

## 103

Which he, against *Pembrooke* and *Ormond*,<sup>1</sup> bends ;  
Whom *Margaret* (now vpon her victory)  
With all speed possible from *VWakefield* sends ;  
With hope to haue surpris'd him suddenly.  
Wherin, though she all meanes, all wit extends,  
To th'vtmost reach of wary policie ;  
Yet nothing her auayles : no plots succeed,  
T'auert those mischiefes which the heauens decreed.

## 104

For, neere the Crosse ally'd vnto his name,  
He crosse those mighty forces of his foes ;  
And with a spirit, ordain'd for deeds of fame,  
Their eager-fighting Army ouer-throws<sup>2</sup> :  
Making all cleer behind, from whence he came ;  
Bearing-downe, wholly, what before him rose ;  
Like to an all-confounding Torrent seemes :  
And was made more, by *VVarwicks* mighty streames.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jasper E. of Pembrook, and James Butler E. of Ormond & Wiltshire.

<sup>2</sup> The battell of Mortimers crosse wher Owen Teuther, father to the E. of Pembrooke, who had married K. Hen. mother was taken & beheaded.

<sup>3</sup> The E. of Warw. after his ouerthrow at St. Alb. retires with all the forces hee could make, and ioines with the yong D. of York : who comming to London, and receiued with all ioie, a great Councell was presently called of the L. L. spirituall and temporall : wher King Henry was adiudged insufficient for the Gouernment of the Realme, and to be depriued of all regall authoritie ; and the D. of Yorke elected for K. and after proclaymed by the name of Edward the 4. the 4 of March, 1460. at the age of 18. And so Hen. 6. after he had reigned 38 yeares 8. moneths, was deposed.

St. 104, l. 1, 'christened by his owne name' : l. 3, 'borne for eternall fame' : l. 8, 'Whereinto runne *VVarwicks* dispirited'.



## 105

With th'inundation of which Greatnesse, he  
 (Hauing no bounds of powre to keepe him backe)  
 Marcht to the Citie : at whose entrance free,  
 No signes of ioy, nor no applaudings lacke.  
 Whose neere approach, when this sad Queene did see,  
 (T'auoyde these rocks of her neere threatning wrack)  
 With her griev'd troupes North-ward she hence departs ;  
 And leaues, to Youth and Fortune, these South-parts.

## 106

Glory, with admiration, entring now,  
 Opened that easie doore to his intent,  
 As that there needes not long time to allow  
 The Right he had vnto the Gouvernement ;  
 Nor *Henries* iniuries to disauow,  
 Against his oath, and th'Act of Parlement.  
 " For, heere the speediest way he takes t'accord  
 Difference in law, that pleades it with the Sword.

## 107

Gath'ed to see his mustred Companies,  
 Stood all the flocking troopes of *London* streets ;  
 When *Faulconbridge*, with gentle feeling, tries  
 How strong the pulse of their affection beates ;  
 And (reckning-vp the grievous miseries,  
 And defolation, which the Country threats)  
 Askt them, whom they would haue to be their King,  
 To leade those troopes, and State in forme to bring.

St. 106, l. 1, 'that' : l. 3, 'discusse' : l. 5, 'dealing most iniurious'.

## 108

Whereto, with such an vniuerfall showt,  
 The Earle of *March*, the multitude replyes,  
 As the rebounding Echo streight through-out  
 (From Towre to Towre reuerberated) flyes  
 To th'eares of those great Lords, who fate about  
 The consultation for this enterprife.  
 Whose care is fav'd, which most they stood vpon :  
 For, what they counsell how to doe, is done.

## 109

And nothing now, but to confirme him king,  
 Remaines (which must not long remaine) to do.  
 The present heate doth strait dispatch the thing,  
 With all those solemne rites that 'long thereto :  
 So that, what *Yorke*, with all his travayling,  
 Force and intrusion, could not get vnto,  
 Is now thus freely layd vpon his sonne ;  
 Who must make faire, what fowly was begunne.

## 110

Whose end, attayn'd, had it here made an end  
 Of foule destruction, and had stay'd the bloud

St. 108, l. 2, 'all generally cries' <sup>2</sup>: l. 3, 'all throughout' <sup>2</sup>.

St. 109, l. 1, 'Nothing, but now to crowne this chofen king' <sup>2</sup>.

Additional stanza in folio :—

' In whom appeare all Maiesties best partes  
 Both perf'nage, bloud, vertue, powre and wit,  
 Which in the throne and kingdome of mens hartes,  
 Onely makes princes gloriously to sit,  
 And which, now to recure the broken parts,  
 Of a dif-ioynted Rule, were onely fitte,  
 To whom my verse now vowes if honor brings,  
 This is my fide, my Muse must hold with kings' <sup>2</sup>.

St. 110, l. 1, ' But had this end attaind, here made an end' <sup>2</sup>.

Which *Towton*, *Exham*, *Tewksbury* did spend  
 With desp'rate hands, and deeper wounds withstood ;  
 And that none other Crowne, brought to contend  
 With that of his, had made his seeme leffe good ;  
 How had this long-afflicted Land been blest !  
 Our fighes had ended, and my *Muse* had rest.

## III

Which now (but little past halfe her long way)  
 Stands trembling at the horrors that succeed ;  
 Weary with these embroylements, faine would stay  
 Her farther course, vnwilling to proceed :  
 And, faine to see that glorious holy-day  
 Of Vnion, which this discord reagreed ;  
 Knowes not as yet, what to resolute upon ;  
 Whether to leaue-off here, or else go-on.

St. 110, l. 3, 'Saxton, Exham' : l. 8, 'ceast'.

St. 111, l. 1, 'but in the midd'le of her long way' : l. 6, 'hath agreed'.

*The end of the seventh Booke.*



# THE EIGHTTH B O O K E .<sup>1</sup>

## THE ARGUMENT.

*King Edward, Powre against King Henry led ;  
And hath at Towton-field the victory.  
From whence, King Henry into Scotland fled:  
Where he attempts his States recovery ;  
Steales into England ; is discovered ;  
Brought Prisoner to the Towre disgracefully.  
And Edward, whiles great Warwick doth assay  
A Match in France, marries the Lady Grey.*

## I



N yet, sad Verse : though those bright  
starres, from whence  
Thou hadst thy light, are set for  
euermore ;  
And that these times do not like  
grace dispenſe  
To our indeuours, as thoſe did before:  
Yet on ; ſince She, whoſe beames do reinceſe  
This ſacred fire, ſeemes as referu'd in ſtore

<sup>1</sup> This 'Eighth Book' first appeared in 1609 4to, and 1623 being identical with it, there are no various readings. G.

To raise this Worke, and here to haue my last ;  
Who had the first of all my labours past.

## 2

On (with her blessed fauour) and relate,  
With what new bloud-shed, this new chosen Lord  
Made his first entry to th'afflicted State,  
Past his first Act of publike, with the sword,  
Ingor'd his new-worne Crowne, and how he gat  
Possession of affliction, and restor'd  
His Right vnto a Royall miserie ;  
Maintained with as bloody dignitie.

## 3

Shew, how our great Pharfalian Field was fought  
At *Towton* in the North<sup>1</sup> ; the greatest day  
Of ruine, that dissension euer brought  
Vnto this Kingdom : where, two Crownes did sway  
The worke of slaughter ; two Kings Causes wrought  
Destruction to one People, by the waie  
Of their affections, and their loyalties ;  
As if one, for these ills, could not suffice.

## 4

Where *Lancaster* and that couragious side  
(That noble constant Part) came furnished  
With such a Powre, as might haue terrifi'd  
And ouer-run the earth ; had they been led

<sup>1</sup> Edward being proclaimed, and acknowledged for King, presently sets forward towards the North, to encounter with K. Hen. 6. who in York-shire had assembled a puissant armie, of neere 60000. men, and at a place called Towton, about 4. miles from Yorke, both their powers met : where was fought the greatest battaile our stories mention, in all these ciuill wars. Where both the Armies consisted of aboute a 100000. men, & all of our own nation.

The way of glory, where they might haue tri'd  
For th'Empire of all *Europe*, as those did  
The Macedonian led into the East ;  
Their number being double, at the least.

## 5

And where braue *Yorke* comes as compleatly mand,  
With courage, valour, and with equall might ;  
Prepar'd to trie with a resolued hand,  
The metall of his Crown, and of his Right :  
Attended with his satall fier-brand  
Of Warre, *Warwicke* ; that blazing starre of fight,  
The Comet of destruction, that portends  
Confusion, and distresse, what way he tends.

## 6

What rage, what madnes, *England*, do we see ?  
That this braue people, in such multitude  
Run to confound themselues, and all to be  
Thus mad for *Lords*, and for meere Seruitude.  
What might haue been, if (Roman-like, and free)  
These gallant Spirits had nobler ends pursu'd,  
And strayn'd to points of glory and renowne,  
For good of the Republique and their owne ?

## 7

But, here no *Cato* with a Senate stood  
For Common-wealth : nor here were any fought  
T'emancipate the State, for publique good ;  
But onely, headlong, for their faction wrought.  
Here, euery man runs on to spend his bloud,  
To get but what he had already got.  
For, whether *Pompey*, or a *Cæsar* wonne,  
Their state was euer sure to be all one.

## 8

And, first, before these fatall Armies met,  
Had forward *Warwicke* lay'd the passage free,  
At *Berry Brigges* : where the Lord *Clifford* (set  
With an aduentrous gallant companie  
To guard that streight, *Yorkes* farther march to let)  
Began the Scene to this great Tragedie ;  
Made the first entrance on the Stage of blood<sup>1</sup> :  
Which now, set wide for wounds, all open stood.

## 9

When, *Edward* to exhort his men began,  
With words, whereto both spirit and Maiestie  
His per'nage gave ; for-that he was a man  
(Besides a King) whose Crowne fate gracefully :  
Com'n is the day, sayd he, wherein who can  
Obtaine the best, is Best : this day must try  
Who hath the wrong, and whence our ills haue beene :  
And tis our swords must make vs honest men.

## 10

For though our Cause, by God and men allow'd,  
Hath in it honor, right, and honestie :  
Yet all, as nothing, is to be avow'd,  
Vnles withall, we haue the victorie.  
For, Iustice is (we see) a virtue proud,  
And leanes to powre, and leaues weake miserie.  
And therefore, seeing the case we now stand in,  
We must resolute either to dy or winne.

<sup>1</sup> The L. Clifford slaine at Ferry Briggs.

## 11

So that if any here doth finde his heart  
 To fayle him, for this noble worke, or stands  
 Irresolute this day ; let him depart,  
 And leaue his Armes behind, for worthier hands.  
 I knowe, enow will stay to doo their part,  
 Here to redeeme themselues, wiues, children, landes,  
 And haue the glory that thereby shall rise,  
 To free their Country from these miseries.

## 12

But here, what needed wordes to blowe the fire  
 In flame already, and inkindled so  
 As when it was proclaym'd, they might retire  
 Who found vnwillingnes to vnder-goe  
 That ventrous worke ; they all did so conspire  
 To stand out Fortune, that not one would goe,  
 To beare away a hand from bloud ; not one  
 Defraud the Field of th'euill might be done.

## 13

Where *VVarwicke* too (producing, in their fight,  
 An argument, whereby he did conclude  
 There was no hope of safetie, but by fight)  
 Doth sacrifice his horse, to Fortitude<sup>1</sup> :  
 And thereby did the least conceipt of flight,  
 Or any succour, by escape, exclude ;  
 "Se'ing, in the streight of a necessitie,  
 "The meanes to win, is t'haue no meanes to flye.

<sup>1</sup> The E. of Warwike, before the Battayle began, with his own hands.  
 killed his horse.



## 14

It was vpon the twi-light of that day  
(That peacefull day) when the Religious beare  
The Oliue-branches as they go to pray,  
(And we, in lieu, the blooming Palme vse here)  
When both the Armies, ready in array  
For th'early sacrificize of blood, appeare  
Prepar'd for mischiefe, ere they had full light  
To see to doo it, and to doo it right.

## 15

Th'aduantage of the time, and of the winde  
(Which, both, with *Yorke* seeme as retayn'd in pay)  
Braue *Faulconbridge*<sup>1</sup> takes hold-on, and assign'd  
The Archers their flight-shafts to shoote away :  
Which, th'aduerse side (with fleet and dimnesse, blinde,  
Mistaken in the distance of the way)  
Answere with their sheafe-arrows ; that came short  
Of their intended ayme, and did no hurt ;

## 16

But, gath'red by th'on-marching Enemy,  
Returned were, like clowdes of steele ; which powre  
Destruccion downe, and did new-night the sky :  
As if the Day had fayl'd to keepe his howre.  
Whereat, the ranged horse breake-out, deny  
Obedience to the Riders, scome their powre,  
Disfrank the troupes, set all in difarray,  
To make th'Assaylant owner of the day.

<sup>1</sup> William Neuile, L. Faulconbridge, after created E. of Kent.

17

Thus, thou peculiar Ingeine of our Land  
 (Weapon of Conquest, Maister of the Field)  
 Renowmed Boaw (that mad't this Crowne command  
 The towres of *Fraunce*, and all their powres to yeeld)  
 Art made at home to haue th'especiall hand  
 In our diffensions, by thy worke vp-held :  
 Thou first didst conquer vs ; then ray'd our skill  
 To vanquish others ; here our selues to spill.

18

And now how com't thou to be out of date,  
 And all neglected leav't vs, and art gone ?  
 And with thee, th'ancient strength, the manly state  
 Of valor, and of worth, that glory wonne ?  
 Or else stay't thou, till new-priz'd shot abate ?  
 (That neuer shall affect what thou hast don)  
 And onely but attend't some blessed Raigne,  
 When thou and Virtue shalt be grac't againe.

19

But, this sharp tempest draue *Northumberland*,  
 (Who led the vant-guard of king *Henries* side)  
 With eger heat ioine battaile, out of hand ;  
 And this disorder, with their swords to hide.  
 Where, twice fise howres, these furious armies stand ;  
 And Fortunes Ballance weigh'd on neither side ;  
 Nor either did but equall bloud-shed gayne,  
 Till *Henries* chiefeft leaders all were slaine.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this battaile of Towton on K. Hen. side, were slaine Hen. Percy E. of North. the EE. of Shrewsbury and Deuonshire, Iohn L. Clifford, the LL. Bewmond, Neuile, Willouhby, Wells, Roos, Grey, Dacres, Fitz-hugh, Molineux, Beckingham : Knights, the 2 base sons of Hen. Holland D. of Excester, Richard Percie, Geruase Clifton, Andrew Trollop, &c. The whole number slaine were accompted, by some, 33000. by others, 35091.

## 20

Then, lo, those spirits, which from these heads deriue  
 Their motions, gaue off working ; and, in haste,  
 Turne all their backs to Death, and mainly striue  
 Who from themselues shall run-away most fast.  
 The after-flyers on the former driue :  
 And they againe, by the pursuers chac't  
 Make bridges of their fellowes backs, to pass  
 The Brooks and Riuers, where-as danger was.

## 21

Witnes O cleare-stream'd *Cock* : within whose banks,  
 So many thousand, crawling, helpless lay,  
 With wounds and wearinesse ; who in their ranks,  
 Had valiantly behav'd themselues that daie :  
 And might haue had more honour, and more thanks  
 By standing to their worke, and by their stay,  
 " But men, at once, life seeme to loue and loath ;  
 " Running to lose it, and to saue it both.

## 22

Vnhappy *Henrie*, from a little Hill,  
 Plac't not far off (whence he might view the fight)  
 Had all th'intire full prospect of this ill,  
 With all the scattered slaughter, in his sight :  
 Saw how the victor rag'd, and spoil'd at wil,  
 And left not off when all was in his might :  
 Saw, with how great adoo himselfe was wonne ;  
 And with what store of blood Kings are vndone.

## 23

We are not worth so much, nor I, nor he,  
 As hath beene spent for vs, by you this day,  
 Deare people, said he : therefore, O, agree,  
 And leaue off mischiefe, and your malice stay.  
 Stay, *Edward*, stay. They must a People bee,  
 When we shall not be Kings : and it is they,  
 Who make vs with their miseries. Spare them,  
 For whom thou thus dost seeke a Diadem.

## 24

For me, I could be pleas'd t'haue nought to doe  
 With Fortune ; and content, my selfe were ill,  
 So *England* might be well ; and that t'vndoe  
 Me, might suffice the sword, without more ill.  
 And yet perhaps, these men, that cleaue vnto  
 The parts of Princes, with such eger will,  
 Haue likewise their owne ends, of gaine or hate,  
 In these our strifes, and nourish this debate.

## 25

Thus stood he (drawing lines of his discourse)  
 In contemplation ; when, more needfully,  
 It did import him to deuise a course,  
 How he might shift for his recovery :  
 And had beene taken had not some by force,  
 Rescu'd, and drawne him off, more speedilie ;  
 And brought him vnto *Yorke*, in all maine poste :  
 Where he first told his Queen, the daie was lost.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Queen Margaret with her sonn were in the City of Yorke, expecting the euent of this Battaille.

## 26

Who, as compos'd of that firme temp'rature  
Which could not bend to base complainys, nor wayle  
As weakenes doth (fore-knowing how t'indure)  
Fayl'd not her selfe, though Fortune did her fayle ;  
But, rather casts-about how to procure  
Meanes to referue her part, and to preuaile  
Of that poore time left her to saue her owne ;  
As one though ouer-come, not ouer-throwne :

## 27

Now, when she had of fatall *Lancaster*  
Seene all the pillars crusht and ruined,  
That vnder-set it ; all that followed her  
Of those heroicke personages, dead,  
Sawe onely *Sommerfet*, and *Excester*  
(Who from this last destruction hardly fled)  
And saw all lost, and nothing in her might,  
But onely that which must be sav'd by flight :

## 28

Now, when there was no North left, of their owne,  
To draw vnto ; no fide, to gather head ;  
No people to be rayf'd, t'an emptie Crowne ;  
Nor yet the ground their owne, whereon they tread.  
When yet your faith (worthy of all renowne)  
Constant *Northumbrians*, firme continued :  
And, though you could not render succors fit  
Vnto your Sov'raigne, you would saue him yet ;

<sup>1</sup> St. 26—This stanza mis-numbered again 25, and so onward—corrected. G

## 29

And be (as few men, in this world, are) true  
 Vnto affliction, and to miserie :  
 And would not basely purchase and renew  
 Your peace, and safetie, by disloyaltie :  
 But wrought, that though the Victor did pursue,  
 With greedy care and egre industrie,  
 To haue surpriz'd him ; yet was all in vaine,  
 Till he recouered *Berwicke*, with his Train.

## 30

Where now, he was at some more vacancie  
 To vnderstand, and see himselfe vndone :  
 Which, in this sodaine-comming misery,  
 He had no leasure to consider-on.  
 And now suruaies he that poore company,  
 Attending on himselfe, his wife, and sonne ;  
 Sees how that all the State, which serv'd his Crowne,  
 Was shut within the walls of one small towne :

## 31

Beholds there, what a poore distressed thing,  
 A King without a people was ; and whence  
 The glory of that Mightinesse doth spring  
 That ouer-spreads (with such a reuerence)  
 This vnder-world : whence comes this furnishing  
 And all this splendor of Magnificence :  
 He sees, what chayre so-euer Monarch fate  
 Vpon, on Earth, the People was the State.

## 32

And yet, although he did contayne no more  
 Then what he saw ; yet saw a peece so small  
 Could not containe him. What he was before,  
 Made him vncapable of any wall,  
 To yeeld him succour now ; he must haue more,  
 Then onely this small Holde, or none at all.  
 And therefore, this (se'ing it awayl'd him not,  
 Nor could he keepe) he renders to the Scot<sup>1</sup> ;

## 33

As th'Earneft, to confirme and ratifie  
 The league betweene them two, newly begun :  
 Whereof to make more fure and faster tye,  
 He promist, too, th'alliance of his sonne :  
 And all that might secure their amity,  
 With willingnesse, on either side was done.  
 And heere they practise, all they can deuise,  
 To turne reuenge vpon their Enemyes.

## 34

Thus, *England*, didst thou see the mightiest King  
 Thou euer hadst (in Power and Maiesty  
 Of State, and of Dominions ; gouerning  
 A most magnificent Nobility ;  
 With an aduent'rous people, flourishing  
 In all the glories of felicitie)  
 Chac't from his kingdom, forc't to seeke redresse  
 In parts remote, distrest and succourlesse.

<sup>1</sup> Hen. 6 deliuers the towne of Berwicke to the K. of Scots.

## 35

Now *Bullingbrook*, these miseries, heere showne,  
Doo much vnlode thy finne ; make thy ill, good.  
For, if thou didst by wrong, attaine the Crowne,  
T'was without cryes ; it cost but little bloud :  
But, *Yorke*, by his attempt hath ouer-throwne  
All the best glorie wherein *England* stood ;  
And did his state by her vndooing winne :  
And was, though white without, yet red within.

## 36

And thus he hath it ; and is now to deale  
For th'intertaining and continuance  
Of mens affections ; and to seeke to heale  
• Those foul corruptions, which the maintenance  
Of so long wars bred in the Common-weale.  
He must remunerate, prefer, aduance,  
His chiefeft friendes ; and prosecute with might,  
The aduerse part ; doo wrong, to doo men right :

## 37

Whilst Martiall *Margaret*, with her hopefull Sonne,  
Is traauiling in *France* to purchase ayde ;  
And plots, and toiles, and nothing leaues vndone ;  
Though all in vaine. For, being thus ouer-lay'd  
By Fortune and the Time, all that is done  
Is out of season. For she must haue stay'd  
Till that first heate of mens affections (which  
They beare new Kings) were laid, and not so much.



## 38

When they should finde, that they had gayn'd no more,  
 Then th'Asse, by changing of his Maisters, did ;  
 (Who still must labour as he vs'd before)  
 And those expectancies came frustrated,  
 Which they had set vpon th'imagin'd score,  
 Of their accounts ; and had considered,  
 How that it did but little benefite  
 The Doves ; To change the Falcon, for the Kite.

## 39

And yet braue Queene, for three yeares of his Raigne,  
 Thou gau'st him little breathing time of rest ;  
 But still his miseries didst entertaine  
 With new attempts, and new assaults addrest :  
 And, at thy now-returne from *France* againe,  
 (Suppli'd with forces) once more gatheredst  
 An Army for the Field, and brought'st, to warre,  
 The scattered parts of broken *Lancaster*.

## 40

And once againe, at *Exham*, ledst them on  
 With Scots, and French t'another bloody day<sup>1</sup> ;  
 And there beheldst thy selfe againe vndone,  
 With all that Rest, whereon thy fortunes lay.  
 Where, *Somerfet* (late to King *Edward* gone,  
 And got his pardon) hauing scap't away,

<sup>1</sup> Queene Margaret, furnished with a great power of Scots and French, to the number of 20000, with her husband entred into Northumberland, took the Castle of Bambrough and after came forward to the Bishoprick of Durham. Wher Hen. Bewfort D. of Somerset who had lately beene reconciled to K. Ed. 4. ioined with them, and also brought thither with him Sir Ralph Percie, a man of great courage & worth : who were taken in the battaile of Exham, and executed in An. 3. Ed. 4. 1464.

With noble *Percie*, came to bring their blood  
Vnto thy fide, whereto they first had stood.

41

Where, the Lords, *Molines*, *Rosse*, and *Hungerford*,  
With many else of noble Families,  
Extinguisht were ; and many that daies sword  
Cut-off their names, in their posterities.  
Where fled, againe, their lucklesse followed Lord ;  
And is so neere purfu'd by th'enemies,  
As th'Ensigne of his Crowne was seiz'd vpon,  
For him who had before his Kingdome wonne ;

42

And shortly after, too, his person gat.  
For he, now wearied with his long exile,  
And miseries abrode, grew passionate,  
With longing to returne t'his natiue soyle.  
And se'ing he could not do the same, in State  
He seekes, disguis'd in fashion, to beguile  
The world a time, and steale the libertie  
And fight of his deare Country, priuately :

43

As if there were, for a pursued King,  
A couert left on earth, wherein to hide ;  
When Powre and Iealousie are trauailing,  
And lay to catch affliction, on each side.  
Misfortune serues, we see, for euery thing,  
And soon he comes, God knows, to be descry'd<sup>1</sup> :

<sup>1</sup> King Hen. was taken in Lancashire, and brought to London, with his legs bound to the Stirops, hauing, in his company, onlie Doctor Manning, Deane of Windzor, with another Diuine : who were taken with him and committed to the Tower.

And *Edward* hath the booty he desir'd :  
For whose establistment, all things conspir'd.

## 44

Yet, long it was not, ere a fire began  
To take, in th'inwardst Closet, where he lay'd  
The treasure of his chiefeft trust ; and ran  
From thence, through al his State, before it staid.  
For, be'ing a King, who his whole fortunes wan  
With others handes, must many leaue vnpay'd :  
And could not fill vp that vast greedinesse  
Of Expectation, which is bottomlesse :

## 45

Though he did all the best that in him lay  
(As a most actiue Prince) to satisfe  
The int'rest of their trauayles, and defray  
The bands contracted twixt his soueraignty  
And the Republick : seeking to allay  
All greeuances ; reorder equity ;  
Reform the Barres, that Iustice did abuse<sup>1</sup> ;  
Lay easie on the State, as new Kings vse.

## 46

As he, who, hauing found great Treafury,  
The first yeare offers, with most gratefull cheere,  
A sheepe of gold, to *Iuno*s deity ;  
And next, of siluer, for the second yeare ;  
The third, of brasse ; and then, neglectiuelly,  
Nothing at all : So those respects, which were  
Borne of a present feeling, mov'd him most ;  
But soon were with their times and motiues lost.

<sup>1</sup> K. Ed. 4. sate on the Kings Bench, in open Court, 3 daies together, in Michaelmas Terme An. 2. of his raigne to vnderstand how his lawes were executed.

## 47

And, what his bounty could not recompense,  
 He payes with honors, and with dignities.  
 And (more to angle the beneuolence,  
 And catch the loue of men, with curtesies)  
 He oft would make his dignity dispenſe  
 With his too lowe familiarities ;  
 Descending, from his Sphere of Maieſty,  
 Beneath himſelfe, very ſubmiſſiuely.

## 48

And when he had diſpoſ'd, in ſome good traine,  
 His home affaires ; he counſells how t'aduance  
 His forraine correſpondence, with the chaine  
 Of ſome alliance that might countenance  
 His Greatneſſe, and his quiet intertaine.  
 Which was thought fitteſt with ſome match, of *France* ;  
 To hold that Kingdome, from ſubayding ſuch  
 Who elſe could not ſubſiſt, nor hope ſo much.

## 49

Nor was it now a time to haue contraſt  
 With any forrain mighty Potentate ;  
 But keep the outer doores of each ſide faſt,  
 Hauing ſo much to doo within his State.  
 And, therevpon, was *Warwicke* (by whoſe caſt  
 All muſt be wrought) imploy'd to mediate  
 A preſent Marriage, to be had betweene  
 Him, and the ſiſter of the yong French Queene.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Earle of Warwicke was ſent into France to treat of a mariage between King Edward and the Ladie Bona, daughter to Loyſe D. of Sauoy, and ſiſter to the La. Carlote Queene of France : which was there agreed vpon ; and Monſieur Damp Martin with others appointed to be ſent into

## 50

Which was not long, nor hard to bring to passe  
 Where like respects met in a point alike.  
 So that the same as euen concluded was,  
 And all as done ; Lady and friends all like :  
 When Loue, the Lord of Kings (by whom must passe  
 This Act of our Affections) tooke dislike  
 That he was not made priuy thereunto ;  
 And therefore, in his wrath, would all vndoe.

## 51

For, whiles this youthfull Prince, at his disport  
 In *Grafton* woods, retyr'd from publick care,  
 Attending how his fute in *France* did forte  
 (Whereon his cogitations onely were)  
 He comes, at home, surpris'd in other fort ;  
 A neerer fire inflam'd his passions heere ;  
 An English Beautie, with more worth indu'd  
 Then *France* could yeeld, his royall heart subdu'd.

## 52

A wofull widdow, whom his quarrell had  
 (As it had many moe) made desolate,  
 Came to his Court, in mournfull habit clad,  
 To sue for Iustice, to relieue her state.  
 And entring as a suppliant all fad ;  
 With gracefull forrow, and a comely gate  
 She past the Prefence : where, all eyes were cast  
 On her more stately prefence, as she past.

Eng. for the full accomplishing thereof. But in the mean time, (the first of May) the K. married the La. Elizabeth Grey, daughter to the Dutches of Bedford, late wife to Sir Iohn Grey, slaine at S. Albones on King Henries part.

## 53

Her lookes, not let-abrode (but carefully  
Kept in, reſtraind) held their reſeruedneſſe :  
Obſeruing none but her owne dignity,  
And his, to whom ſhe did her ſelfe addreſſe.  
And, drawing neere his royall Maieſty,  
A bluſh of reuerence, not baſhfulneſſe,  
Lightned her louely cheeks, and downe ſhe kneeles ;  
Giues her Petition, for the wrongs ſhe feelles.

## 54

And, in deliv'ring it, lifts vp her eyes  
(The mouingſt Mediatours ſhee could bring)  
And ſtrait withdrawes them, in ſubmiſſiue wife ;  
Not fixing them directly on the King :  
Who, mov'd with her ſweet faſhion, bade her riſe,  
With gentle language full of comforting ;  
Read her request : but thought not what he read.  
The lines, hee view'd, her eyes had figured.

## 55

Then pauſ'd a while, and muſd ; as if he weigh'd  
The ſubſtance of her ſute. The which, God wote,  
Was not the thing he muſ'd. And, hauing ſtay'd,  
Seem'd to read on againe ; but yet reades not :  
And ſtill a ſtealing ſide-caſt looke conui'd  
On her ſweet face ; as if he had forgot  
To be elſe-where, then where he did behold :  
And thought not what he did ; but what he would.

## 56

But, leaft his fodaine paffion might haue, there,  
More witneffes then he would wifh to haue ;  
He tooke vp his defires, which pofting were  
Beyond their ftages ; and this anfwere gaue :  
Madam, we will our felfe take time to heare  
Your Caufe at large : wherein we wil you haue  
No other reference, but repaire to vs :  
Who will accommodate this bufineffe.

## 57

She, that expected prefent remedie  
(Hearing this dilatory anfwer) thought,  
The King found fcruple in the equitie  
Of her request ; and thereupon he fought  
To put her to delayes of Court, whereby  
She might be tyr'd, and in the end get nought.  
And that, which her opinion made more ftrong,  
Was that he ftudied, and was mute, fo long.

## 58

Which forc't from her thefe wordes : My Lord,  
Let not my being a *Lancastrian* bred  
Without mine owne election, difafford  
Me right, or make my Caufe diffigured ;  
Since I am now the fubieft of your fword :  
Which God hath (with your Right) eftablifhed,  
To doo vs right : and let not what wee were,  
Be now the caufe to hurt vs as we are.

## 59

Ladie, mistake me not : neuer did I  
Make war with women, nor w<sup>r</sup>d womens war,  
Reuenge ; but profecuted honestly  
My Right, not Men. My quarrels ended are,  
With my obtayning of the victorie.  
And (Lady) knowe, your Cause moues me thus far,  
As you shall finde, sayd hee, I doo desire  
To doo you greater right then you require.

## 60

With this, they part ; both, with their thoughts full  
She, of her fute in hand ; and he of her : [charg'd :  
Wherein, he spends that night, and quite discharg'd  
All other cogitations ; to confer,  
First, how he might haue her estate enlarg'd :  
Then, in what sort her seruice to prefer  
Vnto his new expected Wife and Queene :  
Then, how to maske his loue, from being seene.

## 61

For, yet, Lust was not growne to that degree  
To haue no limits ; but that Shame kept-in  
The greatest Greatnes, from this being free  
To hold their Wantonnefs to be no sinne.  
For, though Kings cannot ouer-maistred bee,  
They will be ouer-lookt, and seene within :  
And, though they could their weaknesfes make sure ;  
Yet crymes, though safe, can neuer be secure.



## 62

Sometimes, he thinks it better to prouide  
A place retyr'd, and haue her from the Court :  
And then, with what pretentions he might hide  
His priuat comming, and his oft resort :  
Then, by his Queene, if it should be espi'd,  
How he might cleare with her, and stop report.  
And thus consumes the night : and if hee slept,  
He slept those thoughts that with these passions kept.

## 63

The morning being com'n (and glad he was  
That it was com'n) after so long a night  
He thought would haue no morning (time did passe  
So slowe, and his desires ran-on so light)  
A messenger with speed dispatched was,  
Of speciall trust, this Lady to inuite  
To come t'his prefence ; though before the time  
That Ladies rise : who rarely rise betime.

## 64

Yet soone shee hastes : and yet that soone seem'd long,  
To him whose longing went so swift a pafe :  
And frets, that such attyring should belong  
To that which yeelds it selfe sufficient grace ;  
Confid'ring how these ornaments may wrong  
The set of beautie : which, we see, doth grace  
Th'attire it weares, and is not grac't thereby ;  
As be'ing that onely, which doth take the eye.

## 65

But now, be'ing com'n, that quarrell of delay  
Streight ended was : her prefence satisfies  
All, what Expectance had layd out for stay :  
And he beheld more sweetnesse in her eyes,  
And saw her more then she was yesterday :  
A cheerfulness did with her hopes arise,  
That lamped cleerer then it did before,  
And made her spirit, and his affections, more.

## 66

When, those who were about him, presently  
Voyded the roome, and left him to confer  
Alone with his faire Suter priuatly  
(As they who to his courtes conscious were)  
And he began : Madame, the remedie  
Which you (in your Petition) sue-for here,  
Shall be allow'd to th'vtmost that you craue,  
With th'expedition you would wish to haue.

## 67

And here I haue another sute to you :  
Which if you please to grant, wee both shall now  
Rest equally content. Wherewith, there grew  
That sodaine alteration in her brow,  
As all were ouer-cast ; and so with-drew  
That freedome from her lookes (least they should 'low  
More then her heart might meane) as they reflect  
A narrower and a carefuller aspect.

## 68

That when he saw this barrier of dislike  
 Thus inter-set, to keepe his forwardnes  
 Backe from presumptiue pressing ; it did strike  
 That reuerence, as it staide him to expresse  
 His farther will. And she replies : 'Tis like,  
 When Kings to subiects sue, they meane no les  
 Then to command ; nor must they be withstood ;  
 For-that good Kings will seeke but what is good.

## 69

And, in that faire respect, your Maiestie,  
 According to your will, both must and may  
 Command my seruice ; who most reuerently  
 Your royall pleasure euer shall obay.  
 With which word, *pleasure* (though it doubtfully  
 In that hard fastnesse of condition lay,  
 Vnder the locke of goodnesse) he was cast  
 In hope, he might obtaine the same at last.

## 70

And thus reioynes ; My pleasure only shall  
 Be, Madame, for your good ; please it but you  
 To make it so. And, here to tell you all,  
 I loue you ; and therein I tell you true.  
 What honour may by Kings affections fall,  
 Must light vpon your fortunes, as your due.  
 And though *France* shall a Wife, for fashion, bring :  
 You must be th'onely mistrefs of the King.

## 71

Streight might you see, how Scorne, and Feare, &  
(All intermixt in one aspect) returne [Shame  
The message of her thoughts, before words came.  
And first, within her brow, in state fate Scorne ;  
Shame in her Cheekes ; where also Feare became  
An In-mate too ; and both appeare, by turne :  
Blushes did paleness, paleness blushes chase ;  
As scorning, fearing, shaming such disgrace.

## 72

She scornes to be addeem'd so worthlesse-bafe  
As to bee mov'd to such an infamie.  
She shames to thinke that ought, within her face,  
Should breed th'opinion of immodestie.  
Shee feares the fatall daunger of the place,  
Her loneness, and the powre of Maiestie :  
And so (confus'd) in feare, in shame, in scorne,  
This Answer to his Motion doth returne :

## 73

My sov'raigne Lord, it grieues me that you deeme,  
Because I in this sort for Iustice sue,  
I would the same with mine owne wrong redeeme,  
And by dishonour reobtaine my due :  
No : I would hate that right, which should but seeme  
To be beholding to a wanton view  
Or motiue of my person, not my Cause ;  
That craues but right, from Iustice, and your lawes.

## 74

And knowe, great Monarch, that I more doo waigh  
My Distaffe with mine honour, then I doo  
The mightiest Scepter, King did euer sway  
Vpon the earth, or Nations bow'd vnto.  
I owe subiection ; which I humbly pay,  
With all the outward seruice I can doo :  
But, Sov'raigne, in the region of my hart  
I raigne sole Queene ; no King can force a part.

## 75

Here, Feare a little interpos'd a touch,  
To warne her violence to temporize  
With Powre, and State : and she concludes her speach,  
With crauing pardon in more humble wife :  
Yet, in proud humble wife : which shew'd, how much  
She did her honor aboue Greatnes prife.  
And so, being full of what she did conceiue,  
Defires to be dismist, and takes her leaue.

## 76

Here, *Mary Pembroke* (by whose generous brow,  
And noble graces, I delineat  
These shapes of others virtues) could I shoue  
In what a desperat and confus'd estate  
She left this disappointed King ; and how  
Loue and Ambition in their glory fate,  
And tyranniz'd on his diuided hart,  
Warring each other with a powrefull part.

## 77

How first, Loue vnderneath his Colours brought  
The strength of all her gracefull worthinesse :  
And sets them in th'aduantage of his thought,  
Vpon the side of Youth and Wantonneffe :  
Then how Ambition, that for glory wrought,  
Comes with his State, his Crowne, and Powrfulnes,  
And plants her on the side of prouidence,  
To beat vnfit Affections off from thence.

## 78

But, I must ouer-goe these passages ;  
And hasten-on my way, to ouer-take  
Mine endes, in sad and grauer businesse ;  
Wherof I shall to you relation make :  
And yet my zeale here forc't mee thus t'expresse  
*Elizabeth*, for our *Elizaes* sake ;  
Who grac't the *Muses* (which her Times became) :  
For, they who giue them comfort, must haue fame.

## 79

And I must tell you now, when this great fight  
Of counter-passions had beene thoroughly try'd,  
How in the ende the victorie did light  
Vpon Loues forces, as the stronger side ;  
And beat downe those respects of benefite,  
Of honor, greatnes, strength, and all beside ;  
And neuer graunted rest vnto his strife,  
Till mariage rites had her confirm'd his wife.

## 80

Which, that place, where he saw her first, saw donne,  
Ere he remov'd his foot : for, Loue is stil  
In haste, and (as a Lord, that rules alone)  
Admittes no Counseller, in good nor ill.  
For, He and Kings gladly giue eare to none,  
But such as smoothe their wayes, and sooth their will.  
And who will not desire to giue his voyce  
(Be what it will) to prayse a Princes choyce ?

## 81

Which was (indeed) in virtue, beautie, grace,  
And all but fortune, worthy of his bed :  
And in that too, had hee but liv'd the space  
T'haue seene her plentifull issue fully bred ;  
That they might haue collated strength and grace  
On her weake side : which (scorn'd and malicèd)  
Lay-open vndefenc't, apt to b'vndon  
By proud vsurping Powre, when he was gon.

## 82

But now, when fame of this home-chosen Match  
Arriu'd in *France* (for there it did arriue,  
Ere they could heere attend to make dispatch  
T'impart the fame to *Warwick*, or contriue  
Some colour that in any fort might fetch  
Him fayrely off, and no dishonor giue)  
It so much stir'd the humors in those parts,  
As marr'd the whole complexion of their hearts.

## 83

The *French* King scornes such an indignity.  
*Warwick* disdaines imployment in this case.  
 The Queene (inrag'd) with extreame vehemency,  
 Stormes at her sisters and her owne disgrace.  
 The Lady *Bona* takes most tenderly  
 To be so mockt, with hope of such a Place :  
 And all blame *Warwick*, and his fraud condem ;  
 Whil't he himself, deceiu'd, suffers with them :

## 84

And could not (by all meanes might be deuiz'd)  
 Vntaste them of this violent disgust ;  
 But that they still held, something lay disguis'd  
 Vnder this treaty. So that now he must  
 Bring-home his reputation cauteris'd  
 With th'idle marke of seruing others lust  
 In friuolous imployments, or be sent  
 Out of the way to colour some intent.

## 85

" Which, to himselfe, made him, with grieve inueigh  
 " Against distemp' red kings : who often are  
 " Ill warrants for their owne affaires ; and waigh  
 " Their lusts, more then their dignity, by far :  
 " And what a miserie they haue that sway  
 " Their great designs ; what danger, and what care ;  
 " And often must be forc't, be'ing at their becks,  
 " To crack their reputation, or their necks.



## 86

“ How their high fauours like as fig-trees are,  
“ That growe vpon the sides of rocks ; where they  
“ Who reach their fruit, aduenture must so far  
“ As t’hazard their deep down-fall and decay.  
“ Their grace, not fixt ; but, as a blazing star  
“ Burnes out the present matter, and away :  
“ And how the world could too wel witnesse beare,  
“ That both their loues and hates like dangerous were.

## 87

Thus he complaynes, and makes his home-retire ;  
All disappointed of his purposes.  
For, hoping, by this Match, to hold intire  
That Lady, with her great alliances ;  
And haue the King more firm to his desire,  
By managing of both their bus’neses ;  
He, by this Match (thus made without his mean)  
Comes barr’d from al those tying int’refts cleane.

## 88

For, well he knew, that all his seruice past  
Was past ; and would not be a future tye  
To hold him in, vnlesse that he could cast  
To introduce some neere necessity  
Of his imployment, that were like to last,  
And shut-out all other concurrency.  
Without which, nor his Greatnes, nor his Wits,  
Could ward him from the Kings vnconstant fits.

## 89

Which more perplext him, and in neerer fort,  
 Then what *France* might by his ambassage ghesse,  
 Or *England* deeme. But, being arriu'd at Cort,  
 He drawes a Trauerse 'twixt his greeuances ;  
 Lookes like the time : his eye made not report  
 Of what he felt within : nor was he lesse  
 Then vsually he was, in euery part ;  
 Wore a cleere face, vpon a clowdy hart :

## 90

Congratulates the Queene ; commends the King  
 For his rare choice ; protesting her to be  
 Far beyond all, the world beside could bring  
 To fit his liking ; and that he did see  
 The Lady *Bona* was a peeuiſh thing,  
 Sullayne, and proud ; and would in no degree  
 Haue pleas'd his humor, or in any fort  
 Haue satisfi'd the Ladies of this Cort.

## 91

And, after hauing finiſht all the rite  
 Of complement and interuiſiting ;  
 He humbly craues diſmiſſion that he might  
 Retyre a while, t'attend the managing  
 And ſetting of his country-buſ'neſſe right ;  
 Whereby the better to attend the King :  
 From whom he parts ; and neuer ſeem'd more deere,  
 More grac't, nor yet himſelfe of fre'er cheere.

## 92

Firſt, *V Varwick*-Caſtle (that had feldome knowne  
 The Maifter there) he viſits ; and from thence  
 Goes t'other goodly Mannours of his owne.  
 Where, ſeene with ioy, with loue, with reuerence ;  
 (King of him ſelfe,) he findes that there is ſhow'n  
 The uſe of life, the true magnificence,  
 T'inioy his Greatneſſe : which, at Corte, in vaine  
 Men toyle-for, and yet neuer doo attaine.

## 93

Which, his religious Confefſor (who beſt  
 Could caſt, with what a violent acceſſe,  
 This feuer of Ambition did moleſt  
 His ſtill-fick minde) takes hold-on ; to addreſſe  
 (Vpon th'aduantage of this little reſt)  
 Some lenitiues, t'allay the firyneſſe  
 Of this diſeaſe ; which (as a maladie,  
 Seiz'd in the Spirits) hath ſeldom remedy.

## 94

“ And thus ſets on him : See, my Lord, how heere  
 “ Th'eternall Prouidence of God hath brought  
 “ You to the Shore of ſafetie (out of feare)  
 “ From all the waues of miſery, that wrought  
 “ To ouer-whelm you ; and hath ſet you cleare,  
 “ Where you would bee ; with hauing (which you ſought  
 “ Through all theſe hazards of diſtreſſe) a King  
 “ Of your owne making and eſtabliſhing.

## 95

“ And now, my Lord, I trust you will sit downe,  
“ And rest you, after all this passed thrall,  
“ And be your selfe (a Prince within your owne)  
“ Without aduent’ring any more at all  
“ Your state in others Bottomes ; hauing knowne  
“ The dangers that on mighty Actōrs fall ;  
“ Since, in the foot of your accompts, your gaynes  
“ Come-short to make euen reck’ning with your paines.

## 96

“ Inioy now what you wrought-for, in this fort  
“ (If great-mens Endes be to enjoy their Endes)  
“ And knowe, the happiest powre, the greatest port,  
“ Is onely that which on it selfe depends.  
“ Heere haue you State inough to be a Cort  
“ Vnto your selfe ; here, where the world attends  
“ On you, not you on it, obserued sole :  
“ You, else-where but a part, are heere the whole.

## 97

“ Th’aduantages of Princes, are (we see)  
“ But things conceiu’d imaginarily.  
“ For, euery state of fortune, in degree,  
“ Some image hath of principalitie :  
“ Which they inioy more naturall and free,  
“ Then can great Powers, chain’d with observancie,  
“ And with the fetters of respect still ty’d ;  
“ Being easier far to follow then to guide.

98

" And what art Corts, but Camps of misery ?  
" That doo besiege mens states, and still are preft  
" T'assaile, prevent, complot, and fortifie ;  
" In hope t'attaine, in feare to be supprest ;  
" Where, all with shewes, and with apparancie,  
" Men seeme, as if for stratagems addrest :  
" Where, Fortune, as the Woolfe, doth still prefer  
" The fowle of the traine that followes her.

99

" And where, fayre hopes are lay'd (as ambushments)  
" To intercept your life, and to betray  
" Your liberty to such intanglements,  
" As you shal neuer-more get cleare away :  
" Where, both th'ingagement of your owne intents,  
" And others recknings, and accounts, shall lay  
" Such waights vpon you, as you shal not part,  
" Vnlesse you breake your credit, or your heart.

100

" Besides : as exiles, euer from your homes  
" You liue perpetuall in disturbancy ;  
" Contending, thrusting, shuffling for your roomes  
" Of ease or honor, with impatiency :  
" Building your fortunes, vpon others tombes,  
" For other then your owne posterity.  
" You see, Corts few aduance ; many vndoo :  
" And those they do aduance, they ruine too.

## 101

" And therefore now, my Lord, since you are heere,  
 " Where you may haue your rest with dignitie ;  
 " Worke that you may continue so : and cleare  
 " Your selfe, from out these streights of misery.  
 " Hold your estate and life, as things more deare  
 " Then to be throwne at an vncertainty.  
 " Tis time, that you and *England* haue a calme ;  
 " And time, the Oliue stood about the Palme.

## 102

Thus the good Father, with an humble thought  
 (Bred in a Cellularie lowe retyre)  
 According to his quiet humor, fought  
 T'auert him from his turbulent desire ;  
 " When the great Earle began : Father, I note  
 " What you with zeale aduise, with loue require :  
 " And I must thanke you, for this care you haue,  
 " And for those good aduertisements you gaue.

## 103

" And truly, Father, could I but get free  
 " (Without being rent) and hold my dignitie ;  
 " That Sheep-cot, which in yonder vale you see  
 " (Beset with Groues, and those sweet Springs hard-by)  
 " I rather would my Palace wish to bee,  
 " Then any roose, of proudest Maiestie :  
 " But, that I cannot dooe ; I haue my part :  
 " And I must lue, in one house, with my hart.

## 104

" I knowe, that I am fixt vnto a Sphere  
" That is ordayn'd to moue. It is the place  
" My fate appoints me ; and the region where  
" I must, what-euer happens, there, imbrace.  
" Disturbance, trauaile, labor, hope and feare,  
" Are of that Clime, ingendred in that place ;  
" And action best, I see, becomes the Best :  
" The Starres, that haue most glorie, haue no rest.

## 105

" Besides : it were a Cowards part, to fly  
" Now from my Holde, that haue held out so well ;  
" It be'ing the Station of my life, where I  
" Am set to serue, and stand as Sentinell :  
" And must, of force, make good the place, or dy,  
" When Fate and Fortune (those great States) compell  
" And then, we Lords in such case euer are,  
" As peace can cut our throats aswell as war.

## 106

" And hath her griefes, and her incombrances :  
" And doth with idle rest, deforme vs more  
" Then any *Magha* can, or forcereffe,  
" With basely waisting all the Martiall store  
" Of heat and spirit (which graceth Manlinesse)  
" And makes vs still false images adore :  
" Besides profusion of our faculties,  
" In grosse dull glutt'ny, vap'rous gourmandise.

## 107

" And therefore since I am the man I am,  
 " I must not giue a foote, leaft I giue all.  
 " Nor is this Bird within my breast so tame,  
 " As to be fed at hand, and mockt with-all.  
 " I rather would my state were out of frame,  
 " Then my renowne should come to get a fall.  
 " No, no : th'vngratefull boy shall neuer think,  
 " That I, who him inlarg'd to powre, will shrink.

## 108

" What is our life, without our dignitie ?  
 " Which oft, we see, comes lesse by liuing long.  
 " Who euer was there worth the memorie,  
 " And eminent indeed, but still dy'd young ?  
 " As if worth had agreed with destinie, [wrong.  
 " That time, which rightes them, should not doo the  
 " Besides ; Old-age doth giue, by too long space,  
 " Our foules as many wrinkles as our face.

## 109

" And as for my inheritance and State  
 " (What euer happen) I wil so prouide  
 " That Law shall, with what strength it hath, collate  
 " The same on mine, and those to mine ally'd :  
 " Although I knowe, she serues a present State,  
 " And can vndoo againe what shee hath ty'd.  
 " But, that we leaue to him, who poynts-out heyres :  
 " And howfoeuer, yet the world is theirs.

## 110

" Where, they must worke it out ; as borne to run  
 " Those Fortunes, which as mightie Families



" (As euer they could be) before haue donne.  
 " Nor shall they gaine, by mine indignities,  
 " Who may without my courtes be vndonne.  
 " And who-so makes his State, and life, his tyes  
 " To doo vnworthily, is borne a slaue :  
 " And let him with that brand go to his Graue.

## III

Here, would the reuerent Father haue reply'd,  
 That it were far more Magnanimitie,  
 T'indure, then to resist : that we are ty'd  
 As well to beare the inconueniencie  
 And straynes of Kings and States ; as to abide  
 Vntimely raynes, tempests, sterilitie,  
 And other ills of Nature that befall :  
 Which we, of force, must be content withall :

## II 2

But that a speedy messenger was sent  
 To shewe, the D. of *Clarence* was hard-by.  
 And, thereupon, *VVarwicke* breakes-off, and went  
 (With all his traine attending formally)  
 To intertaine him, with fit complement ;  
 As, glad of such an opportunitie  
 To worke vpon, for those high purpofes  
 He had conceiu'd in discontentednes.

*The ende of the eighth Booke.*

END OF VOL. II.





